



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

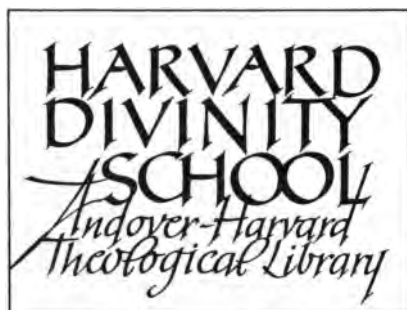
We also ask that you:

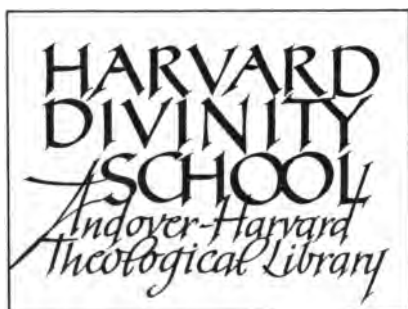
- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

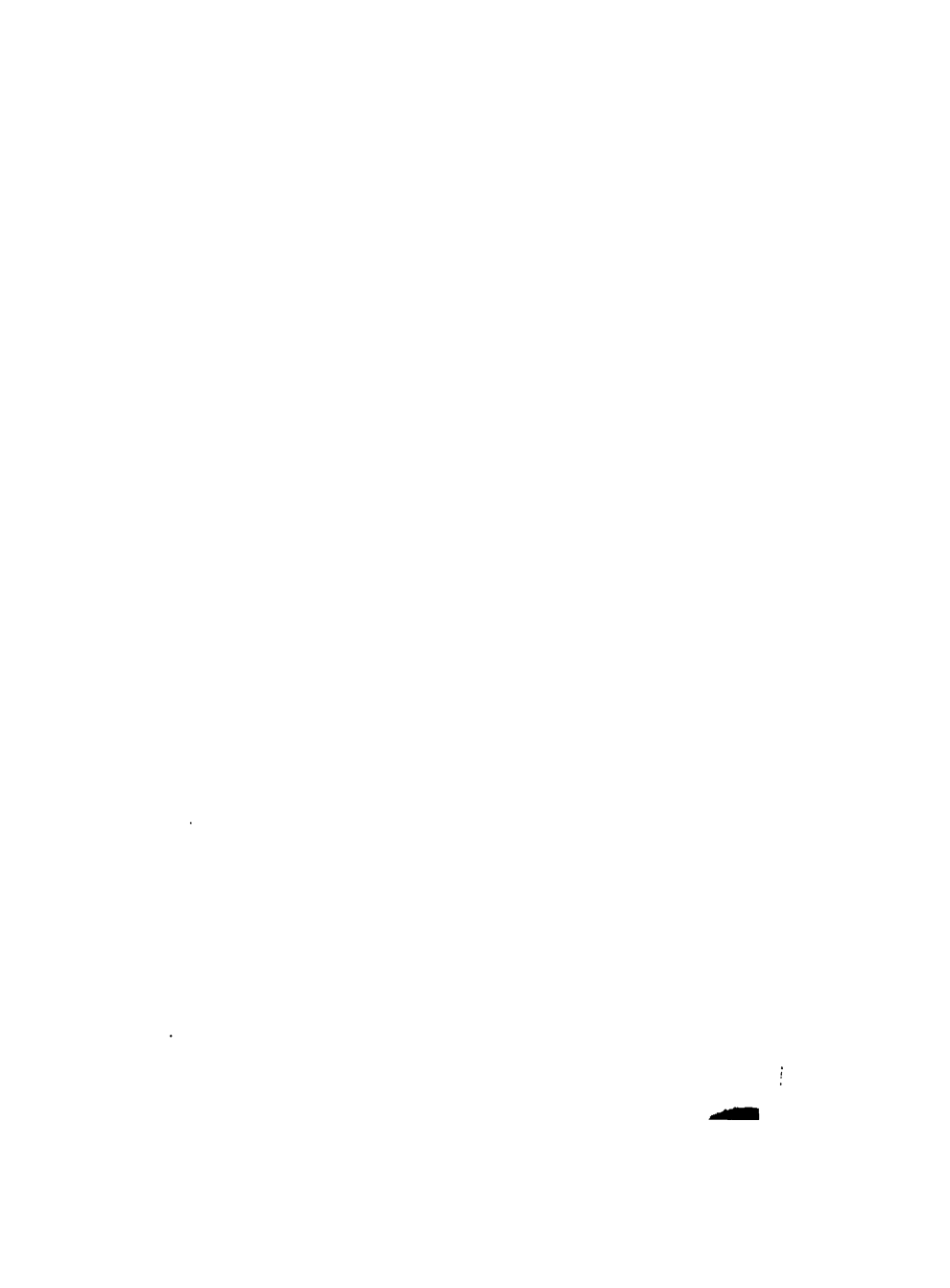
About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

BT
990
.T845
1906









o

9779
33

The Church Historical Society.

President :—THE RIGHT REVEREND J. WORDSWORTH, D.D.,
LORD BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Chairman :—THE RIGHT REVEREND W. E. COLLINS, D.D.,
LORD BISHOP OF GIBRALTAR.

Hon. Secretary :—THE REV. SADLER PHILLIPS, Sion College,
Victoria Embankment, E.C.

o

LXXXV.

*The History and Use of Creeds
and Anathemas
in the
Early Centuries of the Church.*

BY

CUTHBERT HAMILTON TURNER, M.A.,
FELLOW OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD

SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE,
LONDON: NORTHUMBERLAND AVENUE, W.C.
BRIGHTON: 129, NORTH STREET.

1906

A



FEB 10 1907

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE TRACT COMMITTEE.

BT
990
T845
1906

AMICO • COLLEGAE

F • E • B

CVIVS • ERVDITIONIS • FONTES

PLVRIMI • GVSTAVIMVS

EXHAVSIT • NEMO

The Committee of the Church Historical Society wish it to be understood that expressions of personal opinion in this paper are those of the author, and not necessarily those of the Society.

ADVERTISEMENT

AN outline of the following paper was read at a Theological Society in Oxford in May, 1905: of its present expanded form the first two and a half chapters were written for the annual meeting of the Church Historical Society on February 15, 1906. The appendix of documents and authorities has been added in deference to the advice of friends.

If there is anything novel in the paper, it is perhaps the attempt to bring liturgical evidence to bear, more directly than has (it would seem) been hitherto done, upon the history of the Creeds. The writer has no first-hand acquaintance with liturgiology: but he is fortunate in being able to appeal in any difficulty to his colleagues the Rev. H. A. Wilson and the Rev. F. E. Brightman. He has further to acknowledge the kindness of another expert, his friend Dom Germain Morin, to whom is due some welcome assistance in the last chapter. For the conclusions reached he himself is alone responsible.


CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	7
CHAPTER I: THE ANTE-NICENE PERIOD	9
CHAPTER II: THE NICENE CREED	23
CHAPTER III: THE CONSTANTINOPOLITAN CREED	41
CHAPTER IV: THE ATHANASIAN CREED	62
APPENDIX OF AUTHORITIES AND DOCUMENTS	89

THE HISTORY AND USE OF
CREEDS AND ANATHEMAS IN
THE EARLY CENTURIES
OF THE CHURCH

IF it is one main part of the business of historians to draw from the study of the past material that may help men in coming to a right judgement upon the problems of the present, the subject which, with the sanction of your Committee, I have selected for discussion this afternoon will surely commend itself to you as appropriate. For as English churchmen we cannot, if we would, be blind to the fact that the question of the public recitation of the Athanasian Creed is one of the burning questions of our day: and it would seem to be incumbent on us who are members of the Church Historical Society, not indeed to undervalue those general considerations which may appeal to churchmen at large, but to approach this as well as other burning questions in the temper that is willing to plead for suspense of judgement until the facts of history have been ascertained and its

lessons duly weighed. And in spite (or perhaps more truly because) of the mass of literature—for the most part indeed fugitive literature—that has been poured forth upon one side or the other of the controversy, there is still, I think, room for the attempt to estimate, scientifically and dispassionately, what was in actual truth the origin, purpose and early use of the great Symbols of the Christian Faith. I say Symbols in the plural, for the history of the Athanasian Creed cannot properly be studied in isolation from that of the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds. 'Use large maps' was the advice of a statesman of the last generation; and certainly the force of the appeal to Christian tradition is dissipated if investigations are confined to one corner only of the field. Let us try whether, by looking at the facts over a wide range and with a large vision, we may not gain some insight into the principles which, consciously or unconsciously, underlay the attitude of the Christian Society, in the formative period of its development, towards those summary statements of belief which came to bear the name of Creeds.



CHAPTER I

THE ANTE-NICENE PERIOD

THERE are many aspects in which the first Ecumenical Council can be regarded as opening a new chapter in the history of the Church : in none is this more marked, though in some it may perhaps be more familiar, than in the development of creeds. Our opening attempt must therefore be to isolate the evidence of the first three centuries. It is not my business to-day to lay before you the processes, or even in any detail the results, of the patient investigation which scholars of the last generation have devoted to the genesis and history of the primitive Creed of the Christian Society. But at least a passing mention should be made of two remarkable works : the four volumes of Dr. C. P. Caspari's *Quellen zur Geschichte des Taufsymbols und der Glaubensregel*, of which the last appeared

in the year 1879: and the more complete but perhaps less original and less distinguished treatise of Dr. Ferdinand Kattenbusch, *Das Apostolische Symbol: seine Entstehung, sein geschichtlicher Sinn, seine ursprüngliche Stellung im Kultus und in der Theologie der Kirche*, 2 vols. in 3, 1894-1900¹. And we in England ought not to forget the valuable work which has been done upon the subject by Dr. A. E. Burn.

The main results reached by the investigations of these and other scholars may be called in a surprising degree conservative. We cannot indeed claim that the Creed was in the literal sense composed by the Apostles: but its origins have now been taken far enough back to bring it into no very remote connexion with the Apostolic and sub-Apostolic age. It is at least common ground to scholars of all shades of theological thought that not later than the middle of the second century the Church of Rome was using—of course still in the Greek language—a creed of which all the clauses can be restored with

¹ With these must be named also the invaluable collection of documents contained in Dr. August Hahn's *Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln der alten Kirche* (ed. 3, by Dr. Ludwig Hahn, 1897).

a close approximation to certainty¹. Whether this Roman creed was the first and only original attempt at creed-formation and was the parent of all our other creeds, Eastern as well as Western—or whether the Creed was developing on parallel lines in East and West from a common ancestor, which would then probably have to be located in Asia Minor—is an issue which is still undecided, and in which illustrious names can be quoted on either side. But it is enough for us on the present occasion to know that a comparatively fixed form of creed existed in at least one Church as early as A. D. 150. This certainty is the starting-point for all inquiry into the history of creeds in the ante-Nicene period: from this centre we have to work backward towards the origin, and forward along the course of development, of the Symbol of the Christian Faith.

1. In the task of getting behind this earliest known form of creed and resolving it into its component elements, two fundamental facts have to be borne in mind: the one, that the Creed was closely related from the first to the process of admission to membership in the

¹ See Appendix of Authorities and Documents at the end of this paper, no. 5.

Christian Society ; the other, that, close as is this relation of the Creed to Baptism, there are forms that stand in a yet closer relation to the baptismal rite and appear to be at once simpler and older than the Creed—I mean the baptismal Interrogations and Responses. In Acts viii. 37 an early gloss interpolates the question and answer “If thou believest with all thy heart,” “I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God”: St. Peter speaks of the ἐπερώτημα or “question” in immediate connexion with the “baptism that saves us”; Tertullian, in defence of the unwritten tradition of the Church, contrasts the baptismal formula of Scripture with the full development of the rite as he and his contemporaries knew it, emphasizing the use of a “somewhat fuller answer,” at the moment of the triple immersion, than “the Lord in the Gospel had laid down.”¹

What sort of thing these baptismal “Interrogations and Responses”² were, we can learn

¹ 1 Peter iii. 21 νῦν σώζει βάπτισμα, οὐ σαρκὸς ἀπόθεσις ῥύπου ἀλλὰ συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς ἐπερώτημα, εἰς θεὸν δι’ ἀναστάσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὅς ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ θεοῦ πορευθεὶς εἰς οὐρανόν. Tert. *De Cor. Mil.* 3 “Dehinc ter mergitmur, amplius aliquid respondentes quam Dominus in evangelio determinavit”: see Appendix, no. 1, below.

² “Interrogationum ac responsionum,” Origen *Hom. in Num.* v. 1 (de la Rue, ii. 285 A): τῶν ἐπερωτήσεων καὶ τῶν ἀποκρίσεων, Dion. Alex. ap. Eus. *H. E.* vii. 9.

from scattered allusions in the Fathers or from any of the ancient baptismal rites. The employment of them was universal: "It would seem," writes Dr. Armitage Robinson, "as though from the earliest days baptism was accompanied by a confession of the Name on the part of the baptized as well as by an invocation of the Name on the part of the baptizer."¹

Their triple form was dictated, as seems to be clearly implied in Tertullian, by the Trinitarian formula: but within this fixed limit they were expanded variously in different Churches and at different times. The simplest example is to be found in a fourth-century authority, the *Catecheses* of St. Cyril of Jerusalem: "Ye were led by the hand to the holy font" [or "pool"] "of baptism . . . and each one was asked whether he believed in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost": and the same writer gives a formula but slightly more developed for the profession of belief by the catechumen, which followed immediately on the Renunciations² at an earlier point of the baptismal office:

¹ *Journal of Theological Studies* vii. (Jan., 1906) 194, and compare the same writer's full note (in his commentary on Ephesians) on the *ῥήμα* of Eph. v. 26.

² For the Renunciations compare p. 21 below.

"then it was bidden thee to turn to the east, the region of light, and to say 'I believe in the Father and in the Son and in the Holy Ghost and in one baptism of repentance.'"¹ From St. Cyprian we know that the "interrogatio quae fit in baptismo" of the African Church included the question "Believest thou in life eternal and remission of sins" [or in the opposite order "remission of sins and eternal life"] "through holy Church?"² The Gelasian Sacramentary gives us the Roman Interrogations in their earliest known form³: "Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty?" "I do believe." "Dost thou believe also in Jesus Christ His Only Son our Lord, who was born and suffered?" "I do believe." "Dost thou believe also in the Holy Ghost, the Holy Church, the remission of sins, the resurrection of the flesh?" "I do believe."

2. These questions and answers may be regarded, then, as the first stage of the process by which the Creed was developed out of the baptismal formula: they are hardly themselves

¹ Cyril Hier. *Cat. Myst.* ii. 4, i. 9: see Appendix, no. 2, below.

² Cyprian *Epp.* lxx. 2, lxi. 7.

³ Ed. H. A. Wilson p. 86: see Appendix, no. 3, below. Another (probably Egyptian) form of the Interrogations will be found in no. 4 of the Appendix.

a creed, but they show on what lines the Creed would be formed, for we find already the germs of expansion (*a*) in the second division of the Creed, in reference to the Incarnation; and (*b*) in the third division of the Creed, in reference, as we may say roughly, to the work and ministries of the Holy Spirit. Herein lies one of the two problems which we have to solve as we pass from the primitive interrogations to the completed Creed even in its earliest Old Roman form—namely, what was the sort of motive or motives which underlay expansion of the Trinitarian formula on these particular lines. And the most important caution to be given at this point is that we must be chary of attributing to the less conscious creed-formation of the second century the same motives which animated the more conscious work of the fourth. We must not assume, because the new clauses of the Creed of Nicaea were aimed directly against Arius, that the expansion by which the earlier Creed recited its belief in the Incarnation, Passion, and Resurrection of Jesus Christ was directed against Docetism, or the expansions of the belief in the Holy Ghost against other aspects of the Gnostic movement. In other words, we must allow for

more of a positive element in the earlier stages of the Creed than in the later; there was more of the desire to embody in brief compass the most fundamental heads of the Church's own belief, less, as yet, of the intention to erect sign-posts of warning against the deviations of heresy. The second section of the Creed adds in effect to the confession of the Son a summary of the dogmatic side of the Gospel history: and in something of the same way the clauses on the Church and on remission of sins represent in brief the theology of the Apostolic mission as we have it recorded in the Book of the Acts. Perhaps in the clause on the resurrection of the flesh we first meet with something like definite antagonism to Gnostic error.

This is the first result, then, at which we arrive in considering the oldest form of the Apostles' Creed, namely, that the expanded clauses are, on the whole, equally with the older and simpler form of the baptismal Interrogations, a positive statement of that which a Christian man should believe, and only to a limited extent a precaution against that which a Christian man should not believe. But while we have thus attempted to account for the particular insertions and expansions

which constituted the Creed, we have still to face the further question—What was the Creed so constituted wanted for and used for? The use of the Trinitarian formula we know; it was baptismal: the use of the Interrogations expanded from the Trinitarian formula is equally obvious; they too were baptismal: but the Creed, though it was expanded out of the Interrogations, was never, at any rate in early times, a substitute for them; in what sense, then, can we call it the “Taufsymbol,” the Baptismal Creed? The solution of the difficulty is not far to seek. The Creed belongs, not indeed to the administration of the rite of Baptism, but to the preparation for it¹.

¹ In the passage already referred to of his *Commentary on Ephesians* (v. 26) Dr. Robinson suggests that “the origin of the creed is probably to be traced, not in the first instance to the triple formula, but to the statement of the main facts about ‘the Lord Jesus’ as a prelude to baptism ‘in His name.’ When under the influence of Matt. xxviii. 19 the triple formula soon came to be universally employed, the structure of the baptismal creed would receive a corresponding elaboration.” Even those who hesitate to believe that there was ever an epoch when the triple formula was not in use, may well believe that a “statement of the main facts about ‘the Lord Jesus’” was always a preliminary to Christian Baptism. [It is, I think, worth noticing that in the Gelasian (ed. Wilson p. 53) and Gellone Sacramentaries the question is asked of the catechumens “Qua lingua confitentur *Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum*?” though we should have expected “In what language do they confess the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost?” for of

The candidate for Baptism, as the name catechumen itself implies, passed always, under normal circumstances, through a period of instruction: and this instruction fell naturally under the two heads of Christian ethics and Christian doctrine. "It is not our business," writes Origen, "at the very beginning of things to entrust learners with the deeper and more hidden mysteries, but what we give over to their keeping . . . are the first elements of a religious life and of a simple faith."¹ It was these "first elements of a simple faith" that had been embodied in the Creed. We may suppose that from the moment that this "form of sound words" was drawn up, it was every year solemnly committed to the candidates for the Easter baptisms, expounded to them, and repeated by them. As soon as the evidence becomes sufficient, we find a constant usage, both in East and West, of the *traditio symboli* some time in Lent, of an address or

course the triple formula follows in the baptismal rite. Is not the expression "baptized in the Name of the Lord" fairly analogous to this question in the Sacramentary, and may it not be interpreted on the same lines?

¹ Origen *Hom. in Iudic.* v. 6 (de la Rue, ii. 469 F) "non enim in initiis statim discipulis de profundis et secretioribus tradendum est sacramentis; sed morum correctio, emendatio disciplinae, religiosae conversationis et simplicis fidei prima eis elementa traduntur."

series of addresses given upon it in the interval between the *traditio* and Easter Eve, and finally, when it was learnt and mastered, the recitation of it (called *redditio symboli*, or "return" of the creed) to the teacher. The earliest and most famous catechetical lectures which have come down to us are of course the *Catecheses* of St. Cyril of Jerusalem: but we have also three sermons of St. Augustine (212-14) "in traditione symboli," and many anonymous expositions on the same theme.

In the course of the two centuries which elapsed between the first certain traces of the Old Roman Creed and the Council of Nicaea, similar but not identical creeds are found in use in all the principal districts where Christianity had taken firm root. At what precise point the indications emerge in different districts must depend partly on the date at which Christian literature begins to be found there in sufficient volume for the purpose. For Gaul and Africa two writers survive in considerable bulk from the end of the second and beginning of the third century: and the witness of Irenaeus and Tertullian to the Creed is abundant. The temper of the Alexandrine writers is less dogmatic, less given to insistence on the "form of words": but between Clement and

Origen, the Egyptian Church Order and other fragments, we arrive without serious difficulty at the characteristic terms of an Egyptian Creed by the end of the ante-Nicene period. For other provinces the materialismore scanty, but it all points on the whole in the same direction. Even if the Eastern creeds owed their origin ultimately to Rome, yet there can be no reasonable doubt that by the beginning of the fourth century the movement from the centre had reached the circumference, and that the Creed was in universal use, because it corresponded to a universal need.

But this Creed, one and the same everywhere in structure and in outline, was variable and did vary in detail: each local Church or group of Churches was for this purpose autonomous, and developed the common nucleus differently according to the different heresies that threatened them: moreover, the Eastern and Western Churches were already moving on distinct lines of expression of their common belief, so that for instance, where the Western creeds spoke of the fact "He was crucified," the Eastern creeds gave instead the dogmatic interpretation "He suffered." Thus, while the Roman Creed still remained stationary, we arrive on the one hand at the stage of such a

creed as Eusebius of Caesarea produced at the Nicene Council, while on the other hand the Westerns, outside of Rome, were beginning the various processes of enlargement of the Roman Creed, which ended later on in the Apostles' Creed as all Christians of the West have possessed it for a thousand years.

In face of so many variations, it becomes the more significant that the confession of faith is always and everywhere positive: it is the statement of the truth that the Church teaches the catechumen to believe, not of the error that she calls upon him to reject. He is indeed called upon to make solemn and formal renunciations at the moment previous to the baptismal rite itself: but what he renounces is the world, the flesh, and the devil—"the devil, his pomp and his angels" (Tertullian); "the devil and the world" (Cyprian); "the devil, his pomps, his works, his services and pleasures" (Origen); "Satan and all his works and all his pomp and all his service" (Cyril of Jerusalem); "Satan and his works and his pomps and his services and his angels and his inventions and all his subjects" (Apostolic Constitutions); "the enemy, his works and his angels" (Niceta of Remesiana); "the devil and his works, the world and its luxury and pleasures" (Ambrose);

"Satan and all his works and all his pomps" according to the less elaborate Roman ritual (Gelasian Sacramentary). It is no doubt true that heresies would have been reckoned among the "works" of the devil, yet that the catechumen was nowhere called upon expressly to anathematize heresies or heretics is surely a fact to be borne in mind.

CHAPTER II

THE NICENE CREED OR *NICAENUM*

WE have seen that all creeds down to the fourth century are local variations and developments of a single type. Such a local creed, of a much more advanced form than the Roman, was the document which in A. D. 325 Eusebius of Caesarea propounded to the Nicene Council, "according as was handed down to us from the bishops before us, both in the catechizing and when we were about to receive the washing of Baptism ; and according as we have learnt from the Divine Scriptures ; and as we have believed and taught both as presbyter and bishop."¹ But the Council, instead of accepting Eusebius' Creed as their own, proceeded to construct a new creed out of it. What was sufficient as a Rule of Faith to be expounded to catechumens or even to the faithful, was not necessarily sufficient—nay, was necessarily insufficient—for the new purpose which the

¹ See Appendix, no. 6.

Council had in view. We cannot tell whether or no the Fathers of Nicaea understood what a revolution they were inaugurating, though we may well suppose that the significance of their action was not lost upon the young deacon from Alexandria: not only was the Creed, which had hitherto *grown*, now for the first time being *made*, but (an even greater change) it was being made not as a summary of Christian doctrine to be imparted to learners, but as a test of right interpretation of Christian doctrine to be applied to teachers. In a word, the old creeds were creeds for catechumens, the new creed was a creed for bishops.

Of course the transition was not quite so abrupt in fact as it was in theory. The form of words which the Church put before candidates for admission to her pale had very early been known as the Rule of Faith or Truth, the *Regula*, or *Κανών*, or line by which the Christian must walk straight: and we know from the writings of Irenaeus and Tertullian how natural and obvious was the application of this Rule to the controversies of their day. Perhaps the most striking instance of such an application in ante-Nicene times is to be found in the interview, related by Hippolytus and Epiphanius, of the presbyters of Asia with the


Patripassian heretic Noetus¹. "We too," they declared, in answer to his claim of worshipping one God, "We too know one God, we know Christ the Son, who suffered . . . died . . . rose again . . . is at the right hand of the Father and shall come to judge quick and dead." Yet it remains true that such a use of the older creeds was secondary and occasional: in the case of the Nicene Creed it was primary, and in the intention of its framers exclusive of all other uses. For the older creeds were never for a moment intended by the Nicene Council to be superseded for their proper purpose: it was for a new purpose that a new creed was wanted. And while the older local creeds reproduced in their variations the differentiation of the members of the body, the creed of the first Ecumenical Council, representing the body as a whole, was itself ecumenical in its range and its authority.

Deep and wide as are the differences which have thus been shown to exist, both in their purpose and in their range, between the Nicene and all previously existing creeds, it is not less important to note that, in spite of these differences, the essential structure of the Creed

¹ See Routh *Script. Eccl. Opuscula* i. 50, *Reliquiae Sacrae* iv. 243; Kattenbusch *Das Apostolische Symbol* i. 354-8.

remains the same. The Council, though they found the Creed of Eusebius inadequate as it stood, nevertheless adopted it as the basis of their own work. We can compare, point by point, the Roman Creed and the Creed of Eusebius, the Creed of Eusebius and the Creed of Nicaea, and see how one form grew out of another, and what changes or additions came about, and why. The Christian Church in fact from the beginning onwards never had more than a single type of creed: *firmum fundamentum Dei stat*.

Over the first stage of comparison, between the Creed of Eusebius and the Old Roman Creed, we need not linger further than to note that the Caesarean form ends with the clause "We believe also in One Holy Ghost," omitting all mention of belief in the Church, or the remission of sins, or the resurrection of the flesh, or the life eternal, and putting in their place an emphatic assertion, fortified by appeal to the baptismal formula, of the distinctness of each Person in the Holy Trinity. Eusebius, however, is not the only authority to omit the final clauses. The so-called Canons of Hippolytus, representing perhaps an Egyptian usage of the second half of the third century, while they give the first and second of the



baptismal Interrogations in the form of practically a complete creed, limit the third Interrogation to the words "Believest thou in the Holy Ghost, the Paraclete emanating from the Father and the Son?"¹ And the original motive for omission was possibly therefore the desire to keep close, in the baptismal rite, to doctrine that arose directly out of the baptismal formula.

The Nicene Creed follows that of Caesarea in omitting all clauses after "And in the Holy Ghost": but it differentiates itself (apart from minor changes) by two groups of additions, both quite new and both pregnant with significance². The first group, centred round the famous watchword *Homoousios*, mark the technical and theological character of the Creed: "begotten of the Father, Only-begotten; that is, of the substance of the Father. . . . Very God of Very God, begotten, not made, consubstantial with the Father." The second group, which concern our purpose to-day still more nearly, are appended to the Creed in the form of a concluding anathema:

¹ W. Riedel *Die Kirchenrechtsquellen des Patriarchats Alexandrien* p. 212: a better text apparently than H. Achelis *Die Canones Hippolyti* p. 96. See Appendix, no. 4.

² See Appendix, no. 7.

“But those that say, There once was when He was not, and before He was begotten He was not, and that He came into being out of what was not, or allege that the Son of God is of alien substance or essence, or created, or capable of change or turning, them the Catholic and Apostolic Church anathematizes.”

Here for the first time, then, in the history of the Creeds we meet with anathemas: but for the first time also the Creed is being employed with the specific object of testing episcopal orthodoxy, and we cannot dis sever the one phenomenon from the other. The anathemas are there because, and only because, the Creed is no longer the layman's confession of faith but the bishop's. The old principle that the profession of belief of catechumens should be positive in character is not infringed: the Council has not even in view the case of the clergy, still less that of the faithful laity: to bishops alone belonged the office of deciding in the last resort what was Christian and Catholic and what was heretical, and therefore bishops alone should be called upon to guarantee their soundness in the Faith by formal and solemn anathema of error¹. And, even

¹ With this may be compared the later practice, originating we may suppose in the fifth century, accord-

so, we must not lose sight of the fact that the anathemas have no independent existence, but follow on, and are subordinate to, the substantive profession of the Creed.

The idea of framing a creed as a theological test fell on fruitful ground; and many were the formularies which were drawn up with that object in view before the end of the fourth century. In the West indeed—save for a few months after the Council of Ariminum in 359—and also in Egypt, the Creed of Nicaea remained the sole ultimate basis of orthodoxy¹: even in the Eastern Church no real attempt

ing to which every bishop made a detailed profession of his faith at his consecration. Perhaps it marks the theocratic character of the Byzantine Empire that a confession of orthodoxy came to be required from the Greek emperors at their coronation: compare F. E. Brightman *Byzantine Imperial Coronations* (in the *Journal of Theological Studies* ii. 359-392, especially pp. 371, 374).

¹ This general statement must be understood with the qualification that the Creed only penetrated slowly into the remoter parts of the West. The Arian controversy did not become a burning question in such districts till after the accession of Constantius to the throne of the Western Empire in 351; and even later than that, till about 355, it turned rather on the personal question of the deposition of Athanasius than on the doctrinal issue. Thus it is not really surprising that St. Hilary can say "fidem Nicaenam numquam nisi exsulaturus audiui" (*de Synodis* 91: his exile belongs to the year 356). But whatever may have been the case at Poitiers, the documents of the papacy of Liberius show that from at least the accession of that pope in 352 the Creed was accepted as final in Rome.

was made to supplant it during the lifetime of Constantine: but under the reign of his son and successor, Constantius (337-361), each subtle variation of theological thought upon the great topic of the hour was represented by its appropriate creed. No less than four were composed or ratified at Antioch during the years 341-344: as many as five were successively produced at Sirmium between 348 and 359. We are even told that the whole posting system was thrown quite out of gear, because the official carriages were always in requisition for the use of bishops, as they hurried at the emperor's command to or from some new synod, where the party for the moment in power met to embody in some new form of words their exact conception of Trinitarian doctrine¹. Yet in all this bewildering maze and unending sequence of documents, the old fundamental type of creed is still, broadly speaking, preserved: and the phenomena that confronted us for the first time in the Nicene Creed are here repeated again and again. There is the same device of the Creed as a touchstone of episcopal orthodoxy; there is the same employment of some test phrase as the key to a whole system of theology; and

¹ Ammianus Marcellinus xxi c. 16 § 18.

there is also the occasional presence of anathemas, but always as an appendix to a regular creed. We may instance the anathemas appended in the Creed of the Eusebians at the secession Synod of Philippopolis in 343 or in the Creed called the Macrostich of 344, those of the Sirmian Creed of 351, or the Latin anathemas appended to the Nicene Creed by a Roman Council under pope Damasus¹.

If under Valens (364-378), and in the first year or two of his successor Theodosius, the test of episcopal subscription to a creed fell into temporary disrepute owing to the number and confusion of rival formularies, and was replaced by the test of communion with the holder of such and such a leading see, the restoration of the Nicene faith brought with it the restoration of the Nicene Creed to its original position as the official guarantee of episcopal orthodoxy.

It is clear from all that has been said that it would have been in fundamental contradic-

¹ Hilary *de Synodis* 34 (of course in a Latin translation); Socrates *H. E.* ii. 19, ii. 30. Of the Roman Council no satisfactory text has yet been published, but all the best manuscripts prefix to the anathemas the Nicene Creed—some of them with the additional words (after “*Spiritus Sanctum*”) “*neque facturam neque creaturam sed de substantia Deitatis*.” The Creed itself will be found in the Appendix, no. 7b.

tion to the intentions of the Nicene Fathers that the use of their Creed should be confused with the use of the catechetical or baptismal creeds. And in the West it is quite certain that the distinction continued to be observed. The Creed of Nicaea was simply received with honour as a new authoritative statement of a doctrine which the Westerns for their part had never seen reason to question. The existing creeds continued to be used unchanged for their original purposes ; in so far as they developed at all, they developed in the direction of our present Apostles' Creed, and their new or expanded clauses show not the faintest trace of the influence of the Nicene Creed. On such different planes indeed were the two forms of creed conceived to lie, that even the name "Symbolum" did not become the common property of both, but was at first exclusively reserved for the traditional form. Thus Niceta of Remesiana (about 400 A.D.) distinguishes the "Nicaenus tractatus" or "Nicene treatise" from the "Symboli forma"¹:

¹ *de Spiritu sancto* c. 2 "In Nicaeno tractatu positum est secundum Symboli formam 'Credimus et in Spiritum sanctum.'" And for Gaul, in the second half of the fifth century, compare [Gennadius of Marseilles?] *Liber ecclesiasticorum dogmatum* c. 8 "Quod autem dicimus in Symbolo, in adventu Domini vivos ac mortuos iudicandos."

and his "libellus de Symbolo" is (and any book by a Western writer bearing a similar title would always be) an exposition, addressed to catechumens, of the local Creed.

In the East the contrasts do not admit of being quite so sharply defined. The Nicene Creed had naturally much more outward resemblance to the average Eastern Creeds, seeing that it was made out of one of them; and it was therefore easier in the East to blend and combine into the local creed elements borrowed from the Nicene. That this process was actually going on in the fourth century there is plenty of evidence to show. The great formulary—which, as it came first into existence at the commencement of the Arian controversy, so alone remained victorious on the field at its close—had become part and parcel of the very life of those Eastern Christians who had fought their way through every syllable of it. It was natural that men like St. Basil of Caesarea, and St. Meletius of Antioch, and St. Cyril of Jerusalem, as they ranged themselves one after another on the side of the Homoousion, should each desire to leave in his own local Creed a permanent memorial of the struggle that he and his people had passed through: and the revised Creeds

of Jerusalem and of Antioch, the Creed of Cappadocia still used by the Armenians and the Syrian Creed still used by the Nestorians¹, all represent in various ways and to various degrees the movement for expanding the local creeds by the incorporation into them of some part or other of the Nicene phraseology. This tendency to expansion, under pressure of the special circumstances of the time, was of course in itself nothing new: what was new was that the phrases now borrowed differed in their technically theological character from the existing contents of the Creeds. But technical theology had become only too thoroughly common property among Eastern Christians in an age when, as St. Gregory Nazianzen tells us, if you asked how much anything cost, you might expect to be answered by a disquisition on generate and ingenerate being.

It is quite another question whether the Nicene Creed was anywhere substituted bodily for the catechetical or baptismal Creed: and here I can only state my own conviction that the evidence for any such substitution is, in spite of the eminent scholars who have accepted

¹ Printed in Hort *Two Dissertations* ed. 1, pp. 144-9, cf. pp. 115-133; and see also below, Appendix, nos. 9 and 11.

it, totally inadequate. Dr. Kattenbusch's views, on this or indeed any other general subject, have to be sought in scattered references up and down his thousand pages: his book is a rich mine of facts, but, like other mines, it only sends its treasures to the surface in reward for a good deal of painful digging. Moreover, if any patristic passage is cited more than once, it is about an even chance whether the interpretation of it given on the first occasion is not withdrawn on the second. On the whole, however, he may be said to believe in the employment of the Nicene as the baptismal Creed at least in the Cappadocian, the Constantinopolitan and the Egyptian Churches, interpreting in this sense evidence for Cappadocia from Basil of Caesarea; for Constantinople from Gregory Nazianzen, Socrates the Church historian, and the heretic Eutyches; and for Egypt from Cyril of Alexandria. But the evidence of Basil is on one occasion treated as doubtful: that of Gregory is put forward as a pure hypothesis: that of Eutyches is more or less withdrawn: and that of Cyril is admitted to be inconclusive¹. It will be easier to deal with Dr. Caspari as a supporter of the

¹ Kattenbusch, *op. cit.* i. 346, 347; i. 366; ii. 739; ii. 183, 184.

baptismal use of the Creed of Nicaea, for he has a clear-cut thesis and he marshals his facts succinctly and persuasively. In an early paper, contributed to a German periodical as long ago as 1857¹, he alleges first, the Council of Ephesus in 431: next, the confession of faith by Eutyches at the "Latrocinium" in 449: then, the bishops of the Council of Chalcedon in 451, and the declaration of Eutychian archimandrites addressed to the same Council: last of all, an appeal to the emperor on the part of the Egyptian Monophysites in 457, together with the comments on it of various other provincial synods²—as agreeing in this, that the different speakers or writers all declare that they had been themselves baptized, or were accustomed to baptize others, "in the Nicene faith." 'Εν ταύτῃ ἐβαπτίσθημεν, ἐν ταύτῃ βαπτίζομεν, was, for instance, the cry with which the reading out of the Creed of Nicaea was acclaimed by the assembled Fathers at the second session of the Council of Chalcedon.

Dr. Caspari's proof would be more convincing if it did not overshoot the mark. If it

¹ *Zeitschrift für lutherische Theologie und Kirche*, 1857, p. 634. I owe my introduction to it to a reference in Dr. Hort's *Two Dissertations* p. 111 n. 2.

² Labbe-Coleti *Concilia* iii. 1220; iv. 912, 1209, 1421, 1848, 1854, 1878-80, 1898, 1905, 1929.

proves anything, it proves that not only was the Nicene Creed the universal baptismal Creed in the East by the middle of the fifth century, but that it had already pushed all the local Creeds out of use as far back as the days when the bishops present at Chalcedon had been themselves baptized. And we should be required to believe that a revolution so violent and so complete had left no trace either in any recorded resistance of local traditions or (more important still) in any single one of the known baptismal rites. No present use, no extant document, testifies by so much as a hint to a custom which, if Caspari's authorities are to be literally understood, must have been all but universal.

In fact the more we familiarize ourselves with the Church history and literature of the fifth and sixth centuries, the less we shall be inclined to interpret such language as Caspari has quoted *au pied de la lettre*. These phrases do not really mean more than that the Nicene conception of the Faith was that which the speaker had himself learnt from childhood, and which he in his turn was now passing on to the new generation. Such an explanation is not only tenable in itself, but it is supported by actual examples, and de-

manded by positive evidence inconsistent with the supposition that the Creed of Nicaea was everywhere in baptismal use. On the one hand, Epiphanius about 374—less than fifty years after the great Council—cites a Creed, which is practically our present Constantinopolitan Creed enlarged by the Nicene anathemas, as though it were actually the work of the “holy bishops more than 310 in number,” i. e. of course the 318 Fathers of Nicaea¹: and I do not doubt that further research would multiply similar instances². On the other hand, Caspari himself frankly admits that the testimony of Rufinus, about A.D. 400, implies an existing variety of Eastern Creeds, and that the testimony of John Cassian in A.D. 431 implies the persistence of the special Baptismal Creed at Antioch. “Orientales ecclesiae omnes paene ita tradunt” are the words with which Rufinus introduces the Eastern form of certain clauses of the Creed: “peculiariter Antiochenae urbis atque ecclesiae est” is Cassian’s description of the Creed into which Nestorius was baptized³.

¹ Epiphanius *Anchoratus*, ad fin. : see Appendix, no. 10, below.

² On the identification of the Constantinopolitan with the Nicene Creed see further below, pp. 50-53, 55 n. 1.

³ Rufinus *Commentarius in Symbolum* cc. 4, 5; Cassian

But even if it were true that the Creed of Nicaea did come, whether partially or universally, into baptismal use, it would not follow that the anathemas necessarily accompanied it into its new setting. St. Leo quotes the Creed¹ without them, so that they must have been considered to some extent as separable from it: and none of the many attempts to combine elements of both the Nicene and local Creeds incorporated the anathemas, with the two exceptions of Epiphanius' Creed just mentioned and of the Cappadocian Creed still used by the Armenians. Those who have followed up to this point the argument of the present paper will be reluctant to believe without direct evidence (and of this there is none) that the Eastern Churches at large abandoned even for a time the clear distinction which the practice of the Nicene Council and of the fourth century generally indicated between baptismal and episcopal formularies. Indeed, it is a probable view that the absence of the anathemas was, consciously or unconsciously, one of the motive causes which led to the

de incarnatione Domini vi. 3-10. For the Antiochene Creed see Appendix, no. 9.

¹ Epist. clxv *ad Leonem Augustum* c. 3.

silent spread and rapidly acquired popularity of the Constantinopolitan Creed. At any rate, as soon as the scene clears and the facts become indisputable, it is the Constantinopolitan Creed, to the exclusion of the Nicene, which is found to be employed in the public services of the Church. It is the origin and history of the third of the great Symbols of Christian antiquity which now claim our attention.

CHAPTER III

THE CONSTANTINOPOLITAN CREED OR *CONSTANTINOPOLITANUM*

THAT the Creed called Constantinopolitan or Niceno-Constantinopolitan is really a revision of the local Creed of Jerusalem was the thesis which, with characteristic wealth of argument and illustration, the late Dr. Hort set himself in the second of his *Two Dissertations* to develop¹: and the proof that he there offered has been accepted by practically all scholars as final², and need never be laboured through at length again. Put in a few sentences, the case is this. The Creed called Constantinopolitan cannot have originated at the Council of 381, seeing that it appears almost word for word, seven years or so before the Council, in the pages of Epiphanius. Now Epiphanius came from the neighbourhood of Jerusalem; and if the so-called *Con-*

¹ *Two Dissertations*: (1) *On Μονοθεΐς Θεός in Scripture and Tradition*, (2) *On the 'Constantinopolitan' and other Eastern Creeds of the Fourth Century*, ed. 1, Cambridge, 1876.

² e.g. by so conservative a theologian as the late Dr. Bright, *Age of the Fathers* i. 434 ff.

stantinopolitanum be placed side by side with the Creed which can be put together out of the Catechetical Lectures of St. Cyril¹, it is plain at a glance how much the problem is simplified when the latter is assumed as the basis of the former. For on this arrangement the insertions or expansions are seen to group themselves at two main points only—the one in the confession of the Son, where the new form adds, in wholly Nicene language, “Light from Light, Very God from Very God, begotten, not made, consubstantial with the Father. . . . Who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven”—the other in the confession of the Holy Spirit, where a parallel set of new clauses completes the Trinitarian teaching by the words, “the Lord, the Lifegiver, That proceedeth from the Father, That with Father and Son is worshipped together and glorified together².” Of the matter that the compiler left alone in the Nicene Creed, without borrowing it, the most distinctive portion is of course the anathemas³; but in accordance with what

¹ See Appendix, nos. 8 and 11 q.

² Outside these, the principal alterations are the addition of the two names “Mary the Virgin” and “Pontius Pilate.”

³ It is true that Epiphanius has them, but in this he

has been said above, this is nothing but what we should expect if the *Constantinopolitanum* was really a baptismal Creed. And in fact Epiphanius, too, introduces it as the form which was "taught word for word" to "each of the catechumens about to approach holy Baptism."

Granting, however, that the Constantinopolitan Creed was in its origin only a local Creed of Palestine, or specifically of Jerusalem, we have yet to account for the name: and we can hardly account for the name unless we admit some sort of connexion with the Council, any more than we can really account for the rapid spread and ultimate universality of the Creed unless we bring it into close relation with the aggrandizement of the Eastern capital. The Creed of the Church of Jerusalem could have had only local and slowly growing influence: it was as the Creed of the Church of Constantinople that the *Constantinopolitanum* was able to reach its ecumenical position. Of the first steps of the process we have no record. No Acts are extant of the Council of 381, and we cannot tell precisely what was the relation of the Council to the Creed: but

was no doubt amplifying from the Nicene Creed on his own account (Hahn p. 135; Hort pp. 83, 84).

we may conjecture that Cyril of Jerusalem, one of the leading bishops there present and one whose orthodoxy had in some quarters been impugned, laid the Creed of his Church before the bishops as an expression of his faith, and that the Council received and approved it as a catholic document—though of course without prejudice to the supreme authority of the Creed of Nicaea in the sphere of theology proper. At any rate, in the second session of the Council of Chalcedon in 451 it was recited as the “Creed of the 150” Fathers of Constantinople, in immediate sequence to the “Creed of the 318” Fathers of Nicaea.

It appears to me to be most easy to understand the position thus allotted to the *Constantinopolitanum* by those who had the conduct of business at Chalcedon, if we suppose that the Creed had never been lost sight of at Constantinople after the Council of 381, and that somewhere in the interval between 381 and 451 it had come to be adopted as the local Creed of the Constantinopolitan Church. For Constantinople, it must be remembered, was a comparatively new foundation in 381, and nearly all its fifty years of history had been passed under Arian domination. It may well be, therefore, that the same pressure

which caused the enlargements of the Creeds of Cappadocian Caesarea, of Antioch, and of Jerusalem, would lead the Constantinopolitans to welcome a new Creed, at once Nicene in its theology and yet still baptismal in its form and character.

Anyhow, whatever the stages of its earlier history, this Creed became, in the course perhaps of the fifth—certainly not later than the sixth—century, what it has remained to this day, the sole baptismal Creed of the Greek-speaking Churches. Its circulation penetrated even to the West, where it was looked upon as the regular baptismal Creed for Greeks; the Gelasian Sacramentary and that of Gellone both give the *Constantinopolitanum* in Greek a place in their baptismal offices, while the Gelasian even goes so far as to give it also in Latin for the Latins¹, to the exclusion of any representation of the Western Creed: and strange and isolated as is this suppression of the native Western forms², it testifies at least the prominence which in the eyes of Latin Churchmen attached to the *Constantinopoli-*

¹ See Appendix, no. 11 b, for the Latin form: both the texts will be found at pp. 53-5 of Mr. Wilson's edition. Mr. Wilson notes (introduction, p. 1) that a Bodleian liturgical fragment (MS. Add. A. 173, saec. ix) also contains the Latin version of the *Constantinopolitanum*.

² Yet see further below, pp. 59, 60.

tanum as the only Creed then known to them from the Greek world.

But the Creed of Constantinople did not merely make its way into other baptismal rites than those of its original home at Jerusalem and its adopted home at Constantinople. Its real significance in history lies in a different direction altogether. If the Apostles' Creed is inalienably associated with the initial stages of the Christian life as part of the preparation for the sacrament of Baptism, the Constantinopolitan Creed has acquired an equally organic connexion with the fullest expression of Christian life in the sacrament of the Eucharist. The Creed was to be not only, what it was in the ante-Nicene period, the subject-matter of instruction in the faith; not only, what it became in the fourth century, the guarantee of orthodoxy in a great crisis of theological controversy; but also, from the beginning of the sixth century onwards, the continuous doxology of the faithful, Sunday by Sunday, in the Mass. And to this position no other form of the Creed ever aspired than that of Constantinople. Alike in the Greek, the Latin, and even the Coptic Churches, its majestic rhythm and its definite but simple

and straightforward theology have marked it out as the Creed of Christian worship. As the Eucharist represents a further stage in the Christian life than Baptism, so the Creed belonging to it should be more developed than the Creed of the baptismal offices: but as it is still the service of the whole society, of the layman as much as of the bishop, its Creed should be not too formally theological, and, above all, on the supreme act of the devotion of the Christian people no sound of an anathema should be permitted to intrude¹.

Such, it is legitimate to suppose, may have been the motives which lay below the surface and guided the slow but ultimately harmonious action of distant Churches in singling out for this new function the Creed of Constantinople. Of course there were other, and less reputable, immediate causes: *οὐ περὶ μικρῶν ἀλλ' ἐκ μικρῶν* is true of all the processes of history. The original occasion of introducing the recitation of the Creed at the Eucharist appears to have been the desire of the Monophysites to protest against the Chalcedonian Definition of the Faith, as an unwarranted superimposition on the one and all-sufficient Creed. Theodore

¹ The later practice in the East on 'Orthodoxy Sunday' is exceptional.

the Reader, in his *Church History* (about 520 A. D.), tells us that Peter the Fuller, Monophysite patriarch of Antioch from 476 to 488, devised the saying of the Creed at every service, and again that another Monophysite, Timothy of Constantinople (512-517), "ordered that the Symbol of the faith of the 318 Fathers should be said at every service, as an insinuation that Macedonius [his orthodox predecessor] did not accept the Creed, for it had formerly been said only once a year, on the occasion of the catechetical instructions given by the bishop on Good Friday."¹

That the custom, though introduced at the capital under these unfavourable auspices, took immediate root, and remained undisturbed when the imperial throne of the East received an orthodox occupant, is abundantly clear from a curious narrative which has been embedded among the acts of the Council of Constantinople held by the patriarch Mennas in 536. Timothy the Monophysite patriarch died in 517, Anastasius the Monophysite emperor on July 9, 518. The new emperor Justin was an adherent of the Chalcedonian Definition, and the new patriarch John, it was supposed, had

¹ Theodorus Lector *H. E.* ii, fragments 48 and 32; see Appendix, no. 13 a.

only anathematized it under compulsion. On the first Sunday of the new reign the orthodox fervour of the populace boiled over in the cathedral, and the patriarch was not allowed to leave the church until he had fixed the next day for a solemn celebration in honour of the Fourth Council. Monday, July 16, 518, saw, in effect, the end of a long schism of over thirty years between East and West. The patriarch on his entrance was greeted with fresh demands for the insertion into the church diptychs of the memorial of the orthodox patriarchs Euphemius and Macedonius, as well as of pope Leo ; satisfied again on this head, the congregation broke out " for a good hour " into antiphonal singing of the *Benedictus*. At last the service was allowed to proceed, and the choir began the *Trisagion* : " and after the reading of the holy Gospel, the divine liturgy taking its usual course and the doors having been closed, and the holy μάρτυρα [i. e. the Creed] having been recited according to custom, at the moment of the diptychs the whole multitude quietly gathered round the sanctuary and listened ; and when only the names of the aforesaid four holy synods were mentioned by the deacon, and those of the archbishops of holy memory, Euphemius, Macedonius and

Leo, all with a loud voice cried out, 'Glory be to Thee, O Lord.' And after this the divine liturgy was completed with all orderliness."¹

It has indeed been doubted whether the Creed thus introduced into the Eucharist was not after all the Creed of Nicaea; and it is true that Theodore the Reader speaks expressly of the "Creed of the 318 Fathers." But the arguments against a literal interpretation of his words are cogent even when taken separately, and their cumulative effect is overwhelming. We have seen that there is every reason to suppose that the *Constantinopolitanum* became the baptismal Creed of the Church of the Eastern capital at a comparatively early date; and Theodore himself identifies the Creed introduced into the "synaxis" with the Creed already used in the yearly "catechizings." Again, the same deduction from existing rites and extant MSS. that we have already applied to the Creed of the baptismal offices applies also to that of the Eucharist: no trace can be found in any of the Greek liturgies of another Creed than that of Constantinople. Even without direct evidence the presumption would therefore be not unreasonable that Theodore, when he spoke of the "Creed of the 318,"

¹ See Appendix, no. 13 b.

really meant the Creed which in ordinary parlance is still called among ourselves Nicene, and which even scholars have hardly got out of the habit of calling Niceno-Constantinopolitan.

And evidence of a more direct sort is not wanting: the acts of the fourth Ecumenical Council, two generations before Theodore, and of the (so-called) fifth Ecumenical Council, a generation after him, both illustrate the process by which the later Creed came to be known by the title of the earlier, and to enjoy all that indefinable prerogative which attached to the name "Nicene." At the Council of Chalcedon in 451, when the official who was reading out the acts of the Latrocinium of 449 had got as far as Eutyches' profession of faith and his concluding assertion that all addition to the Creed of Nicaea had been solemnly forbidden at the Council of Ephesus, Eusebius of Dorylaeum broke in with the cry that it was a falsehood, and Diogenes of Cyzicus, following him, cited the additions which "the holy Fathers," long before the Council of Ephesus, had actually made in the Creed, to guard against the views of "Apollinaris, Valentinus, Macedonius and their fellows." For instance, he said, the holy Fathers of Nicaea had only said

"was incarnate"; but Apollinaris, accepting the Nicene Creed, interpreted the word to suit his own perversity: wherefore the holy Fathers who came afterwards made the meaning clear by adding "of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary." The Monophysites, of course, did not accept Diogenes' statement of the case; but it is clear that, in the sphere of influence of the Constantinopolitan Church, the later Creed was coming to be regarded not only as an authorized expansion of the earlier, but as of coequal authority with it¹. A century elapses, and at the next general Council in 553 the theory before put forward by an isolated bishop from the neighbourhood of the capital is now the official view of the imperial letter to the assembled bishops. "The holy Fathers at Chalcedon," writes Justinian, "anathematized those who have propounded or propound another Creed than that which was put out by the 318 holy Fathers and explained by the 150 holy Fathers." The symbol or

¹ The passage will be found in the Appendix, no. 12 a, below. When Dr. Hort (op. cit. p. 114) argues that Diogenes was probably only using "some local form of the Nicene Creed, into which . . . some phraseology of the longer Creed had informally crept," he appears to overlook both the reference to Macedonian error (implying the additions in the third section of the Creed) and the express ascription of the changes to the "later" (Constantinopolitan) Fathers.

"mathema" of the faith was originally composed at Nicaea against the Arian impiety: but the teaching of Macedonius on the Holy Spirit and of Apollinaris on the Incarnation led the Fathers of Constantinople, while following "the right faith put forward by the 318," to "give explanations about the Divinity of the Holy Spirit" and to "teach perfectly about the dispensation of the Incarnate Word."¹

It is clear that the longer Creed is regarded as a legitimate and necessary expansion of the shorter; in other words, the Constantinopolitan is the completed form of the Nicene Creed. Under these circumstances there was no motive left for preserving the independent existence of the shorter Creed; and what Justinian expressed with official circumlocution is exactly what Theodore more briefly put, if I am right in understanding him to mean, by the "Creed of the 318," the Creed of Constantinople. No doubt the evidence of the Councils is Constantinopolitan, and it does not follow that the identification of the two Creeds was made so early or so completely elsewhere: but Theodore was himself a reader of the Constantinopolitan Church, and it is about the affairs of that Church that he is writing.

¹ See Appendix, no. 126.

The West lay under no similar temptation to gloss over the facts of history, and the distinction between the Nicene and Constantinopolitan symbols was not so soon forgotten. It was first in Spain, on the occasion of the reconciliation of the Arian Visigoths with the Church, that the third Council of Toledo (A.D. 589) ordered the recitation of the "Creed of Constantinople according to the use of the Eastern Churches" at a point in the Mass immediately preceding the Lord's Prayer—i. e. at the fraction before the Communion—"in order that both the true faith may have witness clearly borne to it, and that the hearts of the people may be purified by faith before they approach to taste Christ's Body and Blood."¹ But the Acts of the very same Council contain as well a transcription in full of the "*fides a sancto Nicaeno concilio edita*," the "*fides quam exposuerunt centum quinquaginta patres consona magnae Nicaenae synodo*," and the "*tractatus Chalcedonensis concilii*"; and all three formulae were subscribed by king Reccared and his queen, by eight episcopal converts, besides presbyters and deacons, and by five "*viri illustres*," with "all the elders of the Goths." Where, then,

¹ Conc. Tol. iii. can. 2; see Appendix, no. 14 a.

the distinction of the Creeds is so rigidly observed, the testimony to the use of the *Constantinopolitanum* in the liturgy of the Eastern Churches is all the more definite and significant.

Within the limits of the sixth century the Creed of Constantinople had thus established itself in the eucharistic usage first of Constantinople, next of the Eastern Churches generally, and finally of the Churches of Spain, Gallicia, and the Spanish provinces north of the Pyrenees. But there for a time the movement in the West stopped short. The seventh century provides us with fresh evidence of the continuance of the new use in Spain¹: it is not till the end of the eighth that we meet with any similar evidence for Gaul, and even then it is only partial and

¹ It is very interesting to note that early in the seventh century St. Isidore of Seville—exactly like Theodore the Reader—calls the Spanish liturgical Creed by the name "Nicene": *de eccl. off.* i. 16 "Symbolum autem quod tempore sacrificii populo praedicatur trecentorum decem et octo sanctorum patrum collatione apud synodum Nicaenam est editum." That it really was the *Constantinopolitanum*, as ordered by the third Council of Toledo, is shown by the texts of the eighth and twelfth Councils of Toledo, A. D. 653 and 681, where the Creed, "as it is proclaimed in the solemnities of the Mass," is again transcribed in full. I owe these and most of the other references in this paragraph to Mr. W. E. Scudamore's *Notitia Eucharistica* (London, 1872) pp. 233, 234.

conflicting. Thus, of the ninth-century liturgical writers in Gaul, Amalarius of Trèves *de ecclesiasticis officiis*, Rabanus Maurus *de institutione clericorum*, and Remigius of Auxerre *de divinis officiis*, are wholly silent about the Creed: while on the other hand bishop Aeneas of Paris, *adversus Graecos*, c. 93, (about the middle of the century) writes that "the whole Church of the Gauls sings the Catholic Faith at Mass on the Lord's Day,"¹ and the abbot of Reichenau, Walafrid Strabo, a contemporary of Aeneas, tells us that the custom of singing the Creed became common in the Gallic and German Churches after the deposition of bishop Felix of Urgel, the Spanish Adoptionist, in 799². But the most definite testimony comes from the account, preserved by the abbot Smaragdus, of an interview in the year 809 between pope Leo III. and three delegates sent by Charles the Great, from which we learn that the (Constantino-

¹ Migne P. L. cxxi col. 721. Aeneas quotes in full the clauses upon the Holy Spirit.

² *De rebus ecclesiasticis* c. xxii: see Appendix, no. 14 b. Walafrid gives two reasons, both sound ones in their way, to explain why it was the *Constantinopolitanum* and not the *Nicaenum* which was used, namely, that the former was perhaps the easier to sing, and that it had ousted the latter owing to the local patriotism of the people of Constantinople.

politan) Creed was sung, by licence of the pope, in the imperial chapel and elsewhere in Gaul during the service of the Mass¹.

As there used, however, it added to the clause "which proceedeth from the Father" the words "and the Son." This unauthorized addition is of course never found in any Eastern copy of the Creed: but the Spanish forms, from A.D. 589 onwards, contain the addition, and it was doubtless from Spain that Gaul derived the liturgical use of the Creed of Constantinople. Visigothic Spain included the district between the Pyrenees and the Rhone, while conversely the kingdom of Charles the Great was extended south of the Pyrenees to Barcelona. It was natural that the Churches which had adopted the Creed in Mass during the Visigothic times should retain it under Frankish domination, and natural, too, that the custom should spread sporadically northwards. Walafrid may very likely be right that it was the Adoptionist controversy which gave an impetus to the use: certainly the *Filioque* controversy came

¹ The document can be found either in Migne *P. L.* cii. 971, or in the *Concilia* (Labbe-Coleti ix. 278-282). Some portions of it will be found in the Appendix, no. 14 c.

in to reinforce the movement. Charles and his ecclesiastics had embroiled themselves with the Easterns over this topic among others, and entered into the fray with zest: but it was a weak point in their armour if the Easterns could appeal to the witness of the Roman Church, not of course to the doctrine of the Single Procession, but at any rate to the use of the Creed without the unauthorized Gallo-Spanish addition to it.

Thus the object of the mission sent to Rome in 809 was to extort from the pope some sort of sanction to the Gallic form of the Creed. There in Gaul was the liturgical use, argued the delegates, in actual fact: it had never existed apart from the additional words; and the liturgical use must of course have come to Gaul from Rome—an argument difficult for Romans to disallow. If the doctrine expressed by the added words was true and necessary to salvation, it was only charitable to have it in the Creed, where everybody might hear and know it, especially as the end of the world was so near. The pope, however, who with Roman caution and conservatism saw that there was another side to the question, would have nothing to do with the plan. Certainly the doctrine was true and essen-

tial: but not all essential doctrine was set out in the Creed¹. It was even necessary to salvation—for those who could understand it; but then not every one was old enough or intelligent enough to do so. As to their assertion that the added words were traditional in Gaul, that had nothing to do with him: his sanction for the use of the Creed in the Mass applied to the real Creed only, and not to omissions or additions that any one might choose to make. If they wanted his frank opinion, it was that all this trouble would have been saved if they had adhered to the example of the Roman Church, where the Creed was not used in the Mass at all, but only in the instruction of catechumens. And the best advice he could now give them was gradually to drop the liturgical use altogether, beginning with the imperial chapel.

It was doubtless as a safeguard against any attempt on the part of Charles to renew the scheme thus rejected, that the pope determined to put on record, in the most permanent form possible, the text of the Creed as the Roman Church had received it. The *Liber*

¹ When the delegates pressed the pope to give them instances, or even one instance, he wisely proposed an adjournment till the next day, lest he should answer "temere."

Pontificalis records that "for his love of the orthodox faith and for greater caution he made two shields of silver, each inscribed with the Creed, the one in Greek letters, the other in Latin, on the right hand and on the left over the entrance" of the Confession in St. Peter's¹.

So far as I know, Mgr. Duchesne is the only writer who has drawn out fully what seem to be inevitable deductions from these first-hand sources². While the Gallic Churches—in spite of their having received the *Ordo Romanus* of the Mass, at Charles' request, from Leo's immediate predecessor, Hadrian—had either begun or continued the liturgical use of the Creed, the Roman Church was still without any Creed in the Mass, though it used the (Constantinopolitan) Creed in the preparation of catechumens for Baptism. If, therefore, we find Gallic writers in the ninth century making, or appearing to make, statements to the contrary, we have just got to explain them away. Thus when Amalarius of Trèves includes in his *Comments on the Ordo Romanus*³ a mention of the Creed, we

¹ See Appendix, no. 14 d. ² *Liber Pontificalis* ii. 46.

³ *Elogae Amalarii Abbatis in Ordinem Romanum* § 17 (in the Benedictine *Museum Italicum* ii. Paris, 1724, p. 553).

must suppose, what is easy enough, that he is commenting on the *Ordo Romanus* as used in Gaul. And when Walafriid writes that the liturgical use of the Creed "is believed to have come from the East to Rome," and so to Gaul, this represents what Charles and his Frankish theologians wanted to be true, and on *a priori* grounds believed to be true, rather than what was true in fact. And two centuries more were to pass before another emperor broached anew the question of the diversity between Cisalpine and Transalpine custom as regards the Creed, and another pope was found to give a more favourable answer. Only in 1014 did Benedict VIII, in deference to the remonstrances of Henry II, introduce the Creed into the Roman liturgy, and bring the Roman use into line with that of the rest of the Christian world¹.

As we have seen above, Amalarius in another liturgical work does not mention the Creed: but this only shows that the use of Gaul, in different places or at different times of his life, was not consistent.

¹ Duchesne *Origines du culte chrétien*³ p. 172 n.

CHAPTER IV

THE ATHANASIAN CREED OR *QUICUMQUE VULT*

IN the three previous chapters we have traced the origin and use of the three great Creeds of the early Church. We have seen how out of the baptismal formula grew the baptismal Interrogations, and out of them again the Creed for the instruction of catechumens, of which the earliest known form is the Old Roman Creed and the best known form our present Apostles' Creed. We have seen how this baptismal Creed developed and varied within certain limits, and how out of the form of it used at Palestinian Caesarea the Creed of Nicaea was directly evolved, while at the same time the difference in the purpose of the Nicene from that of the baptismal Creed was marked by a corresponding difference in terminology, and especially by the addition of the anathemas. We have seen further that, whatever difficulties may exist in detail, the evidence as a whole makes it quite clear that the Nicene Creed never really travelled

outside its original and limited scope as a test of episcopal orthodoxy, and that where it seems to be spoken of in other connexions the reference is either generally to the Nicene faith or, if particularly to a Creed, is to be explained by the early confusion of the Creed of Nicaea with the Creed of Constantinople. We have seen again how this latter Creed, originating (as it seems) in a development of the local Creed of Jerusalem, acquired in some way through the Council of 381 a domicile at Constantinople, and spread from thence throughout all the Greek-speaking and some of the native Churches, borrowing on the one hand the name and authority of the Creed of Nicaea, and on the other hand superseding all the older local baptismal Creeds. And we have seen finally how, in the course of the sixth and succeeding centuries, this Constantinopolitan Creed was introduced—first in the East, and then gradually in the West through Spain, France, and Germany to Rome—as the Creed of the Eucharistic service.

Now the general deductions which can be drawn, so far, from this history are three, and all of them in the highest degree significant.

1. In the first place, all the Creeds hitherto examined are, without exception, develop-

ments of one single fundamental type, corresponding in its threefold structure to the threefold Interrogation and the threefold formula of Baptism: and all of them are, and can be seen to be, intimately related to one another and to have grown one out of another by actually observable processes of expansion.

2. In the second place, these processes of growth and expansion were substantially completed before the end of the fourth century, although no doubt the Western baptismal Creed did not assume its stereotyped form until some centuries later¹. But it remains true that the Creeds as a whole belong to the age when East and West were still in living intercourse, before the barrier of language had begun effectively to hinder the free exchange of thought and idea between Greek- and Latin-speaking Christians, and before, too, the Nestorian and Monophysite schisms had carried off the non-Hellenic populations of the East beyond the pale of the Catholic Church. And for this reason the early Creeds may claim to possess, in a sense which clearly does not

¹ And of course the *Filioque* of the Western Creed is later also. But this is a topic which lies outside the scope of the present paper, and I purposely refrain from entering further upon it than I have done on pp. 57-61.

apply to any later formula, the name and binding force of Ecumenical.

3. In the third place, only those forms of the primitive Creed were admitted to a place in the public offices of the Church—whether of Baptism or of the Eucharist—from which anathemas were absent: the single exception of the Cappadocian-Armenian Creed serves but to throw the consentient testimony of the rest of the Christian world into more prominent relief. The great Creed into which anathemas entered, or rather to which they were appended, was on the whole, and in spite of all its claim on the veneration of Catholic Christians at large, rigidly confined to its special and definite purpose.

In passing to the consideration of the formula known to us as the "Creed of St. Athanasius," we shall naturally proceed to compare it with the Creeds hitherto examined in these three respects of (1) faithfulness to type, (2) date and ecumenicity, (3) employment of anathemas.

1. The Apostles', the Nicene, and the Constantinopolitan Creeds—and not only these, but all Eastern and most Western formulae of the same period—conform to one general type, quite independently of the orthodoxy or

unorthodoxy of their contents : the Athanasian Creed is so different that, from the point of view of external form, it is clear that the others can be spoken of as constituting a single group in opposition to it. In other words the "Fides sancti Athanasii" is not in this sense a Creed at all. It stands in no relation to the baptismal formula, nor does it crown any process of development by which the earlier Creeds passed into an "Athanasian" type, but it occupies an entirely isolated position, and whatever its dependence on the doctrine contained in the earlier Creeds, there is none at all on their structure. And this radical difference of structure corresponds to a similar difference of intention. In the minds of those who framed and used it, it was never meant to compete with the baptismal Creed or the Eucharistic Creed. It is, in fact, not so much a Creed as a hymn.

We have seen at an earlier point that Western churchmen in the fourth and fifth centuries were reluctant to allow the title "Symbolum" to anything but the traditional baptismal Creed. Gradually, however, the use of this title extended itself to both the Nicene and the Constantinopolitan Creeds, and before the age of Charles the Great either of them would

have been normally reckoned under the general heading of "Symbolum¹." But to the Athanasian Creed, so far as I know, that name was never given until a date well on in the Middle Ages. In manuscripts earlier than the year 1000 it passes always² either under one or other of the alternative titles "fides catholica," "fides sancti Athanasii episcopi," or a combination of the two, "fides catholica sancti Athanasii episcopi." Of these forms the last is obviously a conflation, and therefore later than the two forms out of which it has grown: the "fides catholica" is presumably derived from the concluding verse of the Creed, "This is the Catholic Faith," and therefore points back in turn to an earlier and anonymous stage; so that it is reasonable to conclude that the Creed in its two first lines of

¹ See the passages from the Council of Toledo in 589, from the interview with pope Leo III in 809, and from Walafrid Strabo c. 850, in Appendix, no. 14 b, below: and from St. Isidore on p. 55, n. 1, above.

² That is, where it had a title at all, for in one or two of the earliest MSS. (e. g. Milan O 212 sup., saec. viii) it is without title. A list of the titles will be found in Dr. Burn's *Introduction to the Creeds*, pp. 189-91: a letter received from him enables me to add two more early MSS., a Petersburg (St. Germain's) MS. of the eighth century, and a Lyons MS. written under bishop Leidrad (798-814), both of them headed "Fides sancti Athanasii episcopi Alexandrini."

transmission was either (1) anonymous, or (2) bore the heading "the Faith of St. Athanasius the bishop."

Again, in estimating the original position of the Athanasian Creed, it is worth while to note not only the title which it bears, but also the company which it keeps, in the MSS.: and out of thirty-two which are enumerated by Dr. Burn as belonging to the eighth or the ninth century, more than half are Psalters. It was in fact as a canticle that it first made its way into the service-books of the Church, at the end of the Psalms—not as a substitute for the Apostles' Creed.

No doubt there are other manuscripts than Psalters in which the Athanasian Creed finds a place. Sometimes it occurs among Canons, as in Vat. Pal. 574 and Paris lat. 1451, both written about A. D. 800: sometimes in collections of dogmatic formularies and expositions—such as a Reichenau MS., now at Karlsruhe (Augiensis xviii), of the early years of the ninth century. But it does not necessarily follow that even in these cases it holds any unique or very prominent position. Western Church literature of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries was particularly rich in brief doctrinal statements: they were not meant, as

the Eastern Creeds of the fourth century were meant, to compete with the Symbolum, and therefore there does not seem to have been the same feeling in the West that to compose such statements implied any disloyalty to the faith or Creed of Nicaea. Hardly any of the great names of Western theologians but has a "Fides" rightly or wrongly attributed to him; and the canonists, who were accustomed to an intimate connexion between Church doctrine and Church law—who copied out, for instance, side by side the Creed and the Canons of Nicaea—not infrequently extended the hospitality of their collections to formularies destitute of conciliar or papal authority, but guaranteed by respectable or more than respectable names. Still easier was the entrance into collections of specially dogmatic purport: the scribe, for instance, of the Reichenau MS. above mentioned cast his nets wide enough to include, besides the Athanasian Creed, a "Fides" of St. Ambrose, a "Fides" an "explanatio Fidei" and a "definitio Fidei Symbolique Niceni" of St. Jerome, a "Fides catholica" and a "definitio Fidei" of St. Augustine, a "regula Fidei" of St. Gregory the Great, another of St. Isidore, a "Fides" of St. Chrysostom, a "Fides" of Alcuin, as well

as dogmatic passages from Boethius and other writers ¹.

If we ask why all these rival formularies of faith, no more obscure in origin, no less ambitious of the protection of a great name, than the "Faith of St. Athanasius the bishop," have one after another passed into oblivion, the "survival of the fittest" supplies the first and most obvious answer. The Athanasian Creed has lived, when the rest have perished, because it deserved to live by its own intrinsic qualities. But such an answer, however true, is only half the truth. Other formularies failed to live, because they perpetuated the structure and arrangement, while destitute of the authority, of the Creeds. The "Athanasian" formulary lived on, because it put the old truths in a new and effective setting: in other words, because it was a hymn about the Creed, and not itself a Creed at all.

2. It is clear then that, whatever claims the *Quicumque vult* possesses upon our veneration, it does not pretend to conform to the type to which alone belongs properly the name of Creed. We pass on to compare and

¹ See K. Künstle *Eine Bibliothek der Symbole* ("Forschungen zur christlichen Litteratur- u. Dogmengeschichte," I. 4, 1900).

contrast it with the Creeds in respect of its date and, in connexion therewith, of its right to the title Ecumenical.

Thirty years ago, when the question of the Athanasian Creed was debated among us with as much vigour as to-day but with inferior knowledge, it was possible for Dr. Swainson and Dr. Lumby to maintain that the formulary as we know it could not safely be ascribed to a date earlier than the ninth century. Even in the present generation so eminent a critic as Harnack can still be found to argue that, though the two parts of the Creed taken separately are each undoubtedly older—the nucleus of the Trinitarian section he would put back as far as the fifth century—yet the combination of the two was not made till the time of Charles the Great's successors¹. This resolution of the formulary into component parts does not seem to have commended itself to those best competent to judge: but in any case the palaeographical evidence is conclusive that our "Fides sancti

¹ *Dogmengeschichte* II. ed. 1 (1887) p. 299, ed. 3 (1894) pp. 296, 297. In the later edition, practically the only change is that for "jetzt erst trat die zweite christologische Hälfte hinzu" is substituted "vielleicht damals erst . ." One cannot but think that Harnack would at the present moment be willing to make more fundamental modifications than this.

Athanasii" existed well before the age not merely of Charles's successors but of Charles himself, seeing that some four extant manuscripts of the complete form were written in the eighth century¹.

At the opposite extreme to Swainson and Lumby, an important group of writers who have made a special study of the formulary agree in finding the author in one or other of the theologians of the school of Lerins in the first half of the fifth century. Waterland, whose treatise is one of the classics of English divinity, fixed on Hilary, bishop of Arles from 429 to 449: Mr. Ommanney, the most voluminous and exhaustive of our modern English writers on the subject, selected Vincent, a contemporary of Hilary's and author of the well-known *Commonitorium*: Dr. Burn urges the claim of Honoratus, predecessor of Hilary in the see of Arles².

That the common element in the results

¹ I happen myself to have had occasion to collate another document in the Milan MS., O 212 sup.; and in my opinion the MS. is little, if at all, later than 700.

² Kattenbusch would put it earlier still, in the decade 410-420 A.D. I should like to take this opportunity of retracting entirely the suggestion made by me in the *Journal of Theological Studies* (1899) i. 127, that Eusebius of Vercelli in the fourth century might conceivably have been the author.

of these three scholars contains a great deal of truth appears to be beyond dispute. They have been successful, in particular, in localizing the Creed in the south of Gaul. When we consider both the external evidence of the knowledge of the Creed in Spain and central Gaul¹, and the contact in thought and expression between the *Quicumque* and the writers of the Rhone Valley and Provence during the fifth and sixth centuries, the proof is little short of convincing. It is another question whether these scholars have been equally successful in the matter of date. Not only must we allow something for conservative bias in each case, but it is probable that the attempt was made to be too precise in fixing the date of the formulary between the latest dogmatic controversy whose influence was detected in it, and the first of which there was no echo: Dr. Burn, for instance, found allusions to Apollinaris and Priscillian, but none to Nestorianism, and fixed his date accordingly. I do not know, too, whether it might not be urged that a document which shows so intimate a dependence on St. Augustine is less likely to have been composed in southern Gaul at a

¹ Council of Toledo in 633 A. D., and Council of Autun between 663 and 680 A. D.

time when the whole school of Lerins was in open revolt against St. Augustine's teaching on Grace and Freewill, than at a somewhat later date when at least the controversy was free from any element of personal bitterness. At the same time it is admitted on all hands that the *Quicumque* argues a literary style and an intellectual power for which we could with difficulty find place between the middle years of the sixth century and the Carolingian revival¹. But is there no writer, later than the middle of the fifth century yet earlier than the middle of the sixth, Gallican himself yet a profound student of the writings of St. Augustine, a compiler rather than a creator yet a compiler of the first order, to whom the Athanasian Creed can be attributed? It is the merit of Dom Germain Morin to have supplied a tentative answer to these questions in proposing the name of St. Caesarius of Arles.

¹ Of Western theologians Vigilius of Thapsus died in 520: Fulgentius of Ruspe in 533: Boethius in 524: Avitus of Vienne in 523: Caesarius of Arles in 543. Even the secondary writers, Cyprian of Toulon, and the Africans Fulgentius Ferrandus of Carthage and Facundus of Hermiana, do not take us on much further. See Dom Morin in the *Revue Bénédictine* for October 1901, *Le Symbole d'Athanase et son premier témoin saint Césaire d'Arles* where the theory adopted in the text was first propounded.

Of course a guess, however brilliant, remains only a guess: and no doubt Morin, who has devoted many years to the laborious task of collecting and sifting the materials for an edition of St. Caesarius, lies under a natural temptation to look for the solution of vexed questions along the lines of his special study. But the parallels with which he illustrates from the writings of Caesarius one after another of the characteristic turns of phrase in the *Quicumque*¹, though they do not actually prove identity of authorship, give the hypothesis at least the right to hold the field until a better one can be found to supersede it. And there are perhaps few hypotheses which have to fit in with so many *data* and which fit in with them all so well.

Also, if Caesarius was the author, we have in his authorship a possible explanation of the use of the name of St. Athanasius. The evidence of the MSS. shows indeed that this

¹ Linguistically the most interesting thing in the *Quicumque* is probably the use of "*totae tres personae*" (as in modern French "*toutes les trois*") instead of "*omnes tres personae*." Dom Morin produces parallel instances from the Sermons of Caesarius, and from the canonical collection called *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua*, which is certainly Gallic, certainly contemporary with Caesarius, and not improbably Caesarius' own work.

description was not at first universal; and it may be that we have here to do only with one more example of the habit, equally incurable among ancient scribes and modern critics, of discovering a writer for every anonymous treatise. Yet St. Athanasius was perhaps hardly the Father on whom the thoughts of an ordinary scribe in the seventh or later sixth century would have run: and at no time was the pseudonymous employment of his name very common in the West—indeed the only striking instance of it (apart from the Creed itself) is in connexion with the books *de Trinitate* which are printed among the works of Vigilius of Thapsus. Caesarius, however, is exactly the man for our case, since he had a quite unique passion for borrowing material from earlier Fathers, working it up himself, and then publishing the composite result under their name rather than his own. Normally, of course, the writer to be thus exploited was St. Augustine—many of the sermons relegated by the Benedictine editors of St. Augustine to the appendix are made up of genuine Augustinian matter in a Caesarian dress—but Morin has detected in a MS. of the Cathedral library at Cologne (no. clxxi, saec. ix) a couple of homilies of indubitably Caesarian origin masquerading

under the title "sancti Anathasi¹." On the whole, then, there seems good reason to believe that the same hand which penned the *Quicumque* prefixed to it the heading "Fides sancti Athanasii," and that the hand was that of bishop Caesarius of Arles.

We should be acting uncharitably, and we should certainly be going ahead of the evidence, if we supposed that a fraudulent motive in the stricter sense underlay the selection of a pseudonymous title by the author—if we are right in putting the responsibility on the author—of the *Quicumque*. Arianism was to him a deadly reality, for the Visigothic lords of Spain and Narbonne were Arian still². He doubtless knew of the fame of St. Athanasius as the first and greatest champion of catholic orthodoxy against it: possibly he had come across some of his writings, whether in the original Greek or in a Latin version; possibly he may have studied the pseudo-Athanasian *de Trinitate*. In any case he would believe with absolute sincerity that he was expressing in the *Quicumque* the mind and teaching of the great Alexandrine Father: and so believing, it

¹ Anathasius is a not uncommon Latin variant for Athanasius.

² Reccared's conversion only took place in 589.

was a natural thing, and it did not violate the then accepted canons of literary propriety, that he should challenge public attention by placing his summary of Athanasian doctrine under the protection of an Athanasian title. And on the view that he had no real purpose to deceive, it would have been possible enough for him to permit the reproduction and circulation of the formulary, now with the name of St. Athanasius, and now without.

It is another and a more difficult question if we go on to ask what part the false title played in securing the popularity of the *Quicumque* and its ultimate acceptance as an authoritative confession of the Christian Faith. We may acquit Caesarius (or whoever is responsible) of all moral blame; but we can hardly avoid the feeling that what would be venial in ordinary cases takes a different aspect in connexion with a formulary of which we are examining the claim to be ranked as one of the Catholic Creeds. It is urged, of course, that neither was the Apostles' Creed written by the Apostles, nor was the Nicene Creed of our Prayer Books authorized by the Council of Nicaea. But the cases are not wholly parallel. The Apostles' Creed received

L

that appellation because it was held to represent Apostolic doctrine, and attained its recognition quite independently of, and long anterior to, any apocryphal legend of its origin : while the distinction of the Constantinopolitan Creed from the Nicene was, as we have shown, emphasized in the West at the very moment of its admission into liturgical use. But in the case of the *Quicumque* there followed from the Athanasian title, literally accepted, one deduction of far-reaching influence upon its subsequent history, namely, that it was first composed in Greek. In our days the Latin authorship of the Creed is so self-evident and so universally admitted that it is with difficulty we can place ourselves at the standpoint of the Middle Ages, and see in the *Quicumque* a version of a Greek original. Still more unintelligible must it be to us that a scholar of the attainments of archbishop Cranmer can have attributed to the Greek translations of the *Quicumque* extant in his day a higher authority than to the Latin form as he found it in the Western service-books : and yet there appears to be no doubt that the English rendering in our Prayer-book is corrected from the Greek text, printed by Aldus in 1497 and reproduced in numerous

editions during the first half of the sixteenth century¹. We can only explain it by remembering the enthusiasm of the Renaissance for everything that was Greek, and the preference of some of the Reformers for anything that was not Roman : and so it does not seem rash to conclude that the position allotted to the *Quicumque* by the English Prayer-book and Articles depends in the last resort on the mistaken theory that the formulary was ecumenical in the sense that it was Greek by origin as well as Latin by use.

The fortunes of the *Quicumque* among the Greeks are both like and unlike its fortunes among ourselves : like, in that such reception as it has achieved was doubtless due to the influence of the Athanasian title : unlike, in that the reception achieved has never been more than perfunctory. Versions of the Creed in Greek were plentiful during the Middle Ages : Montfaucon long ago printed four, and the industry of Caspari discovered another two². To the Latins the testimony of the *Quicumque*

¹ See the proof in Ommanney *A Critical Dissertation on the Athanasian Creed* (Oxford, 1897) pp. 310-314.

² My information is derived here from the very full and careful account in Ommanney, *op. cit.* pp. 270-304. Mr. Ommanney decides that no known version can be older than the second half of the eleventh century.

to the doctrine of the Double Procession of the Holy Spirit was specially valuable as coming (it was supposed) from a source unimpeachable by their opponents. The Greeks retaliated, not by denial of the Athanasian authorship, but by rival renderings of the formulary, in which the words "et Filio," inserted on their view without warrant by the Latins, were no longer represented. Not till after the middle of the eighteenth century did the Athanasian Creed, even as thus mutilated, find its way into any Greek service-book: from that date onwards the successive editions of the *Horologion* have included it, sometimes before the beginning, sometimes after the end, of the Hour offices, but in either case quite separately from them. The Greek Church neither now recites nor has ever recited the *Quicumque*: and such sort of sanction as its appearance in the *Horologion* has conferred upon it would perhaps never have been acquired but for the fact that all editions of that book used to be printed at Venice and were therefore to some extent accessible to Western influences.

The second question which was set before us has now in the course of the inquiry answered itself. The date of the *Quicumque* has been

provisionally fixed in the first half of the sixth century: and not only is its origin and character wholly Western, but its reception is Western too. Unless the august title "ecumenical" is to be emptied of all real meaning as applied to the Creeds, the "Fides sancti Athanasii" can lay no claim to it.

3. It remains now only to consider the Athanasian Creed under one further heading, namely in relation to the employment of anathemas. We have seen, with regard to the earlier Creeds, that the presence of anathemas indicated that the document containing them was meant for bishops and not for miscellaneous public use: how far is this true also of the *Quicumque*?

But we must face first the preliminary question, whether the anathema of the *Quicumque* is after all of the same kind as the anathemas for instance of the Nicene Creed. And in fairness it must be admitted that there does exist a difference, in the less specific character of the anathema: it is not "those who say" this or that particular thing who are anathematized, but those simply "who do not keep the Catholic Faith whole and inviolate." Yet whatever mitigation may be placed on this score to the credit of the

Quicumque is counterbalanced by the new form in which the anathema is clothed. The phraseology of the Nicene Creed in this respect is substantially the phraseology of St. Paul: "whoever should preach a gospel other than that which had been received, let him be anathema:" and with the pronouncement of the anathema the function of the Church is fulfilled. No such reverent reserve is maintained where, even though the word anathema is absent, the claim to final judgment is asserted in the formula "absque dubio in aeternum peribit."

This sharpening of the edge of the anathema is symptomatic of a change in the attitude of Christian theologians to those without the pale, and of a growing precision in matters eschatological, which on the whole characterize the times of the *Quicumque* in comparison with those that preceded it. We may not go all the way with the speculations of Origen—they were but speculations after all: but the spirit of Origen is the spirit of the earlier Greek theology in general, of St. Justin Martyr, who believed that every man had the seed of the Divine Word in his heart and who spoke of Socrates as the "friend" of Christ, of St. Gregory Nyssen and St. Cyril of

Alexandria, who taught that the Lord's descent into hell freed every single soul that was in bondage there. And perhaps few of us to-day but feel cramped and confined when we pass from this larger air to breathe the atmosphere of the sixth century. Development there is, and must be, in theology: but if there is such a thing as development on wrong lines instead of on right, if there are backwaters in the stream of theological progress, it is difficult not to express oneself frankly over the sorry spectacle of ecclesiastical Councils, at the dictates of Justinian, disturbing with *post mortem* anathemas the repose of men "who had fallen asleep in the peace of the Church and the praise of the Fathers." And we cannot fail to note how this rising tide of anathemas synchronized with a falling level of theological science. The African Church, in its services to theology during the first half of the sixth century, was without rival among the Churches of Christendom: and it was precisely in Africa that the opposition to Justinian's anathemas was strongest and most enduring.

The censures dealt out to Origen, Theodore, and Theodoret in the East marked the same tendency, and were the product of the same

generation, as the *Quicumque* in the West. But they were still conciliar and episcopal: did the author of the new Western formulary take a further step, and contemplate a wider range of influence and employment for his Creed? It is probable, certainly, that he did not intend to limit it, as the Nicene Creed was limited, to episcopal use. If Gallic bishops of the eighth and ninth centuries were in the habit of embodying the substance of the *Quicumque* in their professions of faith at consecration, there is still earlier evidence that it was regarded as the property not of the bishop alone but of all ranks of the clergy. The first express testimony that has been alleged for the *Quicumque* is an Italian "epistula canonica," belonging apparently to the former half of the sixth century: "let all priests, deacons or sub-deacons," so it begins, "learn by heart the Catholic Faith¹." And if it must remain doubtful whether by the "Fides catholica" can here be meant the Athanasian Creed—for no other trace of its use in Italy can be found till a good deal later—the doubt is of little moment for our immediate purpose, seeing that an exactly similar prescription is laid down in a Canon

¹ Ommanney, op. cit. pp. 47-52.

of Autun, ascribed to a Council held about 670: "If any priest or deacon, sub-deacon or cleric, shall not have repeated without mistake the symbol which the Apostles by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit have handed down to us, and the Faith of St. Athanasius the prelate, let him be condemned by his bishop."¹

But though the *Quicumque* was thus a clerical as well as an episcopal Creed, it does not follow, and there is no evidence, that it was a lay one. If Caesarius was the author, the conjecture is not improbable that he composed it in the first instance for the benefit of the religious houses founded by him both for men and for women, which we know to have occupied a very special place in his thoughts. Certainly its liturgical use was purely clerical, not to say monastic. In the Carolingian age (but even then only in Gaul) it makes its way into the service of Prime, which, with Compline, was of all the Hours in the office originally the most domestic and the least like a part of public worship. Nor must it be forgotten that the laity were becoming more and

¹ Ommanney pp. 52-66; Burn p. 156: "Si quis presbyter aut diaconus, subdiaconus, clericus, symbolum quod sancto inspirante Spiritu apostoli tradiderunt et fidem sancti Athanasii praesulis irreprehensibiliter non recensuerit, ab episcopo condemnatur."

more extensively ignorant of the language in which the Creed was written. Although during the later Middle Ages lay folk in England were probably in the habit of attending a composite service of which Prime, and therewith the *Quicumque*, formed part, it is certain that the majority of them were unable to understand the office in the original. There is nothing to show that they were taught to follow it as they followed the Mass, and it may be presumed that they busied themselves with some more private book of vernacular devotions, such as the Little Hours of the Virgin. Thus it was a definite and far-reaching, even if an unconscious, change, when Cranmer imported the "Creed of St. Athanasius" into an office which unfortunately came to hold much the same place in the life of the uninstructed English layman as was formerly held by the Mass.

Our historical investigation has now reached its close. The evidence has disentangled itself with sufficient clearness to lead us to tangible results. Catholic tradition in respect of the Creeds has been found to be a real thing: but it does not always point in the direction which has been somewhat too hastily assumed

for it. Above all, it cannot be adduced in favour of the incorporation of any Creed containing anathemas into the public worship of the Church. The Creed of Nicaea was never used in the West, either in the sacrament of Baptism or in the Eucharist: if ever in the East, for a very brief space only. The Athanasian Creed has never been admitted into any office of the Greek Church, nor into any sacramental rite of the Latin Church. The Greek layman never hears it: the Roman layman never in the lay services¹: it is not easy to see how grounds of Catholic principle or custom require the English layman to be differently treated. The sense of the Spirit-bearing body, as true and real a thing as its more formal decisions, has always, it would seem, been clear in the end against the exaltation of anathemas into an integral and permanent part of the worship of the Christian people.

¹ It may be of interest to mention that in the Roman Catholic cathedral at Westminster a translation is provided for worshippers who do not understand Latin.

APPENDIX OF AUTHORITIES AND DOCUMENTS

I. TERTULLIAN *de corona militis* § 3

about A. D. 200-210

(ed. Fr. Oehler, Leipzig, 1853, i. 420).

Si nulla scriptura determinavit, certe consuetudo corroboravit quae sine dubio de traditione manavit. quomodo enim usurpari quid potest, si traditum prius non est? "etiam in traditionis obtentu exigenda est" inquis "auctoritas scripta." ergo quaeramus an et traditio nisi scripta non debeat recipi. plane negabimus recipiendam, si nulla exempla praeiudicent aliarum observationum, quas sine ullius scripturae instrumento solius traditionis titulo et exinde consuetudinis patrocinio vindicamus.

denique, ut a baptismo ingrediar, aquam adituri, ibidem sed et aliquanto prius in ecclesia, sub antistitis manu contestamur nos renuntiare diabolo et pompae et angelis eius. dehinc ter mergitamur, amplius aliquid respondentes quam Dominus in evangelio determinavit.

2. CYRIL OF JERUSALEM : A.D. 347
Catecheses Mystagogicae i. 4-9, ii. 4
 (ed. Reischl-Rupp, Munich, 1848-1860 : vol.
 ii. pp. 348-358).

Ἄλλ' ὁμως ἀκούεις τεταμένη τῇ χειρὶ ὡς πρὸς παρόντα
 εἰπεῖν· Ἀποτάσσομαί σοι Σατανᾶ . . .

εἶτα ἐν δευτέρᾳ λέξει μανθάνεις λέγειν· Καὶ πᾶσι
 τοῖς ἔργοις σου . . .

εἶτα λέγεις· Καὶ πάσῃ τῇ πομπῇ σου . . .

μετὰ ταῦτα λέγεις· Καὶ πάσῃ τῇ λατρείᾳ
 σου . . .

ὅτε οὖν τῷ Σατανᾶ ἀποτάτῃ πᾶσαν τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν
 πάντως διαθήκην λύσας, τὰς παλαιὰς πρὸς τὸν
 ἄδην συνθήκας, ἀνοίγεται σοι ὁ παράδεισος τοῦ
 θεοῦ ὃν ἐφύτευσε κατὰ ἀνατολὰς . . . καὶ τούτου
 σύμβολον τὸ στραφῆναί σε ἀπὸ δυσμῶν πρὸς
 ἀνατολήν, τοῦ φωτὸς τὸ χωρίον. τότε σοι ἐλέγετο
 εἰπεῖν· Πιστεύω εἰς τὸν πατέρα καὶ εἰς
 τὸν υἱὸν καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα καὶ εἰς
 ἐν βάπτισμα μετανοίας· περὶ ὧν ἐν ταῖς
 προτέραις κατηχήσεσιν, ὡς ἡ θεοῦ χάρις ἔδωκεν,
 ἐν πλάτει σοι εἴρηται . . .

Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὴν ἁγίαν τοῦ θείου βαπτίσματος
 ἔχειραγωγείσθε κολυμβήθραν . . . καὶ ἡρωτᾶτο
 ἕκαστος εἰ πιστεύει εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς
 καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος
 καὶ ὁμολογήσατε τὴν σωτήριον ὁμολογίαν καὶ
 κατεδύετε τρίτον εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀνεδύετε πάλιν.

3. THE GELASIAN SACRAMENTARY

(ed. H. A. Wilson, Oxford, 1894, pp. 79, 86).

Vocato nomine singulis dicis:

"Abrenuntias Satanae?"

Resp. "Abrenuntio."

"Et omnibus operibus eius?"

Resp. "Abrenuntio."

"Et omnibus pompis eius?"

Resp. "Abrenuntio."

Inde vero dicis symbolum, imposita manu
super capita ipsorum.

Inde benedicto fonte baptizas unumquemque
in ordine suo, sub has interrogationes:

"Credis in Deum Patrem omnipotentem?"

Resp. "Credo."

"Credis et in Iesum Christum Filium eius
unicum Dominum nostrum, natum et passum?"

Resp. "Credo."

"Credis et in Spiritum sanctum; sanctam
ecclesiam; remissionem peccatorum; carnis
resurrectionem?"

Resp. "Credo."

Deinde per singulas vices mergis eum tertio
in aqua.

4 a. CANONES HIPPOLYTI, c. xix : A.D. 250-300
(translated from the German of W. Riedel,
*Die Kirchenrechtsquellen des Patriarchats
Alexandrien*, Leipzig, 1900, pp. 211, 212).

The catechumen turns his face towards the west,
and speaks as follows :

"I renounce thee, O Devil, and all thy service" . . .

Before he descends into the water, while still,
his face turned towards the east, he stands by the
water, he speaks . . . as follows :

"I believe and worship thee and all thy service,
O Father, Son and Holy Ghost."

And so he descends into the water. The priest
lays his hand on him, and questions him as
follows :

"Dost thou believe in God the Father, the
Creator of all things?"

The catechumen answers :

"I do believe."

He dips him a first time in the water, keeping
his hand upon his head.

Then he questions him a second time as follows :

"Dost thou believe in Jesus the Christ, the Son
of God, whom Mary the Virgin bore of the Holy
Ghost, who came to redeem the race of men, who
for us was crucified in the time of Pontius Pilate,
who died and on the third day rose again from
the dead, ascended into heaven, sat down at the
right hand of the Father, and shall come again to
judge the quick and the dead?"

The other answers :

"I do believe."

And he dips him a second time in the water.

Then he questions him a third time as follows :

"Dost thou believe in the Holy Ghost, the
Paraclete, that emanates from Father and Son?"

And if the other says :

"I do believe,"

he dips him a third time in the water.

4 b. CANONUM ECCLESIASTICORUM RELIQUIAE

A. D. 250-300

(fragments of a Latin translation edited from a Verona palimpsest by E. Hauler, Leipzig, 1900, pp. 110, 111).

... manum habens in caput eius inpositam baptizet semel.

Et postea dicat :

"Credis in Christum Iesum, filium Dei, qui natus est de Spiritu sancto ex Maria uirgine, et crucifixus sub Pontio Pilato et mortuus est et sepultus, et resurrexit die tertia uiuus a mortuis, et ascendit in caelis, et sedit ad dexteram Patris uenturus iudicare uiuos et mortuos?"

Et cum ille dixerit :

"Credo,"

iterum baptizetur.

Et iterum dicat :

"Credis in Spiritu sancto et sanctam ecclesiam et carnis resurrectionem?"

Dicat ergo qui baptizatur :

"Credo."

Et sic tertia uice baptizetur.

5 a. THE OLD ROMAN CREED IN GREEK
 according to the text of Marcellus of Ancyra,
 about A. D. 341,
 preserved in Epiphanius *adv. Haer.* lxxii. 3
 (see A. E. Burn, *An Introduction to the*
Creeeds, London, 1899, p. 46).

Πιστεύω εἰς θεὸν παντοκράτορα
 καὶ εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν,
 τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ,
 τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν,
 τὸν γεννηθέντα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας
 τῆς παρθένου,
 τὸν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου σταυρωθέντα καὶ τα-
 φέντα,
 καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστάντα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν,
 ἀναβάντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς,
 καὶ καθήμενον ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρός,
 ὃθεν ἔρχεται κρίνειν ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς·
 καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα,
 ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν,
 ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν,
 σαρκοῦς ἀνάστασιν.

5 b. THE OLD ROMAN CREED IN LATIN
according to the text of Rufinus of Aquileia
Commentarius in Symbolum Apostolorum
about A. D. 400
(see Burn, op. cit. p. 46).

Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem :
et in Christum Iesum,
unicum Filium eius,
Dominum nostrum,
qui natus est de Spiritu sancto ex Maria
uirgine,
crucifixus sub Pontio Pilato et sepultus,
tertia die resurrexit a mortuis,
ascendit in caelos,
sedet ad dexteram Patris,
inde uenturus est iudicare uiuos et mortuos :
et in Spiritum sanctum,
sanctam ecclesiam,
remissionem peccatorum,
carnis resurrectionem.

6. THE CREED OF EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA,
in use in A.D. 325

(Socrates *H. E.* i. 8 or Theodoret *H. E.* i. 11 :
Hort *Two Dissertations* p. 138).

Καθὼς παρελάβομεν παρὰ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν ἐπισκόπων, καὶ ἐν τῇ κατηχήσει, καὶ ὅτε τὸ λουτρὸν ἐλαμβάνομεν, καὶ καθὼς ἀπὸ τῶν θείων γραφῶν μεμαθήκαμεν, καὶ ὡς ἐν τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐπισκοπῇ ἐπιστευόμεν τε καὶ ἐδιδάσκομεν, οὕτω καὶ νῦν πιστεύοντες τὴν ἡμετέραν πίστιν ὑμῖν προσαναφέρομεν. ἔστι δὲ αὕτη·

Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἓνα θεόν, πατέρα παντοκράτορα,

τὸν τῶν ἀπάντων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητὴν·

καὶ εἰς ἓνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν,

τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον,

θεὸν ἐκ θεοῦ,

φῶς ἐκ φωτός,

ζωὴν ἐκ ζωῆς,

υἷὸν μονογενῆ,

πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως,

πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς γεγεννημένον,

δι' οὗ καὶ ἐγένετο τὰ πάντα·

τὸν διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν σαρκωθέντα,

καὶ ἐν ἀνθρώποις πολιτευσάμενον,

καὶ παθόντα,

καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ,

καὶ ἀνελθόντα πρὸς τὸν πατέρα,
καὶ ἤξοντα πάλιν ἐν δόξῃ κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς·
[πιστεύομεν] καὶ εἰς ἓν πνεῦμα ἅγιον.

Τούτων ἕκαστον εἶναι καὶ ὑπάρχειν πιστεύοντες,
πατέρα ἀληθῶς πατέρα, καὶ υἱὸν ἀληθῶς υἱόν, καὶ
πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἀληθῶς ἅγιον πνεῦμα· καθὼς καὶ ὁ
κύριος ἡμῶν ἀποστέλλων εἰς τὸ κήρυγμα τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ
μαθητὰς εἶπε· Πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ
ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς
καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος.

7 a. THE CREED OF NICAEA, A. D. 325
(according to the text of Hort, op. cit. p. 140).

Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα,
πάντων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητήν.
καὶ εἰς ἕνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν,
τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ,
γεννηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς μονογενῆ—
τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς—
θεὸν ἐκ θεοῦ,
φῶς ἐκ φωτός,
θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ,
γεννηθέντα, οὐ ποιηθέντα,
ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρί,
δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο,
τά τε ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ·
τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν
σωτηρίαν κατελθόντα καὶ σαρκωθέντα,
ἐνανθρωπήσαντα, παθόντα, καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ
τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ,
ἀνελθόντα εἰς [τοὺς] οὐρανοὺς,
ἐρχόμενον κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς.

καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα.

Τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας· Ἦν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν καὶ πρὶν
γεννηθῆναι οὐκ ἦν, καὶ ὅτι Ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐγένετο,
ἢ ἐξ ἐτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας φάσκοντας εἶναι
[ἢ κτιστὸν] ἢ τρεπτὸν ἢ ἀλλοιωτὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ,
[τούτους] ἀναθεματίζει ἡ καθολικὴ καὶ ἀποστολικὴ
ἐκκλησία.

7 b. THE SAME IN LATIN

as prefixed to the anathemas of pope Damasus,
about A. D. 378-80

(collated with the MSS.).

Credimus in unum Deum Patrem omnipotentem,
[omnium] visibilium et invisibilium factorem :
et in unum Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum,
Filium Dei,
natum de Patre unigenitum,
hoc est de substantia Patris,
Deum de Deo,
lumen de lumine,
Deum verum de Deo vero,
natum non factum,
unius substantiae cum Patre, quod graece
dicunt homousion,
per quem omnia facta sunt,
sive quae in caelo sive quae in terra ;
qui propter nos homines et propter nostram
salutem descendit,
incarnatus est,
homo factus est, passus [est, et] resurrexit
tertia die,
ascendit in caelos,
venturus iudicare vivos et mortuos :
et [in] Spiritum sanctum [neque facturam neque
creaturam sed de substantia deitatis.]
Eos autem qui dicunt : Erat [tempus] quando
non erat, et Priusquam nasceretur non erat, et
quia Ex nullis extantibus factus est, vel Ex
alia substantia sive essentia dicentes mutabilem
et convertibilem Filium Dei, hos anathemat-
izat catholica et apostolica ecclesia.

8. THE EARLIER CREED OF JERUSALEM,
in use in A. D. 347
(as restored from the *Catecheses* of St. Cyril :
Hort, op. cit. p. 142).

Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἓνα θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα,
ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς,
ὁρατῶν τε πάντων καὶ ἀοράτων·
καὶ εἰς ἓνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν,
τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ,
τὸν ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς γεννηθέντα θεὸν ἀληθινὸν πρὸ
πάντων τῶν αἰώνων,
δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο·
σαρκωθέντα καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα,
σταυρωθέντα καὶ ταφέντα,
ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ,
καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς,
καὶ καθίσαντα ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ πατρὸς,
καὶ ἐρχόμενον ἐν δόξῃ κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς,
οὗ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος·
καὶ εἰς ἓν ἅγιον πνεῦμα,
τὸν παράκλητον,
τὸ λαλήσαν ἐν τοῖς προφήταις·
καὶ εἰς ἓν βάπτισμα μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν,
καὶ εἰς μίαν ἁγίαν καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν,
καὶ εἰς σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν,
καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

9. REVISED CREED OF ANTIOCH

in use in A. D. 431

according to John Cassian *de Incarnatione
Domini contra Nestorium* vi. 3-10(ed. M. Petschenig, in the Vienna Corpus
Script. Eccl. Lat. XVII, pp. 327-336).

Textus ergo ac fides Antiocheni symboli haec est:

Credo in unum et solum verum deum, Patrem
omnipotentem,
creatorem omnium visibilium et invisibilium
creaturarum :
et in dominum nostrum Iesum Christum,
Filiū eius unigenitum,
et primogenitum totius creaturae,
ex eo natum ante omnia saecula,
et non factum,
deum verum ex deo vero,
homousion Patri,
per quem et saecula conpaginata sunt et omnia
facta ;
qui propter nos venit et natus est ex Maria
virgine,
et crucifixus sub Pontio Pilato et sepultus,
et tertia die resurrexit secundum scripturas,
et in caelum ascendit,
et iterum veniet iudicare vivos et mortuos :
Et reliqua.

10. CREED OF EPIPHANIUS
 as contained in his *Ancoratus* § 118
 about A. D. 374
 (ed. Dindorf, i. p. 222 : Hahn, p. 134).

Οὐ μόνον ἀπαγγέλλειν ὀφείλετε τὸ πιστεῦναι τοῖς
 ἑαυτῶν υἱοῖς ἐν κυρίῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ διδάσκειν
 ῥητῶς . . . τὸ λέγειν·
 Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἓνα θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα,
 ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ γῆς,
 ὁρατῶν τε πάντων καὶ ἀοράτων.
 καὶ εἰς ἓνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν,
 τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ,
 τὸν ἐκ τοῦ-πατρὸς γεννηθέντα πρὸ πάντων τῶν
 αἰώνων,
 τουτέστιν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς,
 φῶς ἐκ φωτός,
 θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ,
 γεννηθέντα οὐ ποιηθέντα,
 ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρί,
 δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, τὰ τε ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς
 καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ·
 τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν
 σωτηρίαν κατελθόντα ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν,
 καὶ σαρκωθέντα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας
 τῆς παρθένου,
 καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα,
 σταυρωθέντα τε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου,
 καὶ παθόντα καὶ ταφέντα,

καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ κατὰ τὰς γραφάς,
καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς,
καὶ καθεζόμενον ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ πατρὸς,
καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμενον μετὰ δόξης κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ
νεκρούς,

οὗ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος·

καὶ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, κύριον καὶ ζωοποιόν,
τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον,
τὸ σὺν πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ συνπροσκυνούμενον καὶ
συνδοξαζόμενον,
τὸ λαλήσαν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν·
εἰς μίαν ἁγίαν καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐκ-
κλησίαν·

ὁμολογοῦμεν ἓν βάπτισμα εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν·
προσδοκῶμεν ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν,
καὶ ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος. ἀμήν.

Τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας· Ὡς ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν καὶ πρὶν γεν-
νηθῆναι οὐκ ἦν, ἢ ὅτι Ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐγένετο, ἢ ἐξ
ἐτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας φάσκοντας εἶναι
ῥευστὸν ἢ ἀλλοιωτὸν τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ υἱόν, τούτους
ἀναθεματίζει ἡ καθολικὴ καὶ ἀποστολικὴ ἐκ-
κλησία.

Καὶ αὕτη μὲν ἡ πίστις παρεδόθη ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων
ἀποστόλων, καὶ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἁγίᾳ πόλει ἀπὸ
πάντων ὁμοῦ τῶν ἁγίων ἐπισκόπων ὑπὲρ τρια-
κοσίων δέκα τὸν ἀριθμόν.

II α. CREED OF CONSTANTINOPLE
OR REVISED CREED OF JERUSALEM
(see Hort *Two Dissertations* p. 143).

Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἓνα θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα,
ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς,
ὁρατῶν τε πάντων καὶ ἀοράτων
καὶ εἰς ἓνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν,
τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ,
τὸν ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς γεννηθέντα πρὸ πάντων τῶν
αἰώνων,
φῶς ἐκ φωτός,
θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ,
γεννηθέντα οὐ ποιηθέντα,
ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρί,
δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο·
τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν
σωτηρίαν κατελθόντα ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν,
καὶ σαρκωθέντα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας
τῆς παρθένου,
καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα,
σταυρωθέντα τε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου
καὶ παθόντα καὶ ταφέντα,
καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ κατὰ τὰς γραφάς,
καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς,
καὶ καθεζόμενον ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ πατρὸς,

11 b. THE SAME IN LATIN

as used in the Baptismal Office of the Roman
Church

according to the Gelasian Sacramentary
(ed. H. A. Wilson p. 55).

Credo in unum Deum, Patrem omnipotentem,
factorem caeli et terrae,
visibilium omnium et invisibilium :
et in unum Dominum Iesum Christum,
Filium Dei unigenitum,
de Patre natum ante omnia saecula,
lumen de lumine,
Deum verum de Deo vero,
natum; non factum,
consubstantialem Patris,
per quem omnia facta sunt ;
qui propter nos homines et propter nostram
salutem descendentem de caelis,
et incarnatum de Spiritu sancto et Maria
virgine,
et humanatum,
crucifixum etiam pro nobis sub Pontio Pilato
et passum et sepultum,
et resurgentem tertia die secundum scripturas,
et ascendentem in caelos,
et sedentem ad dexteram Patris,

καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμενον μετὰ δόξης κρῖναι ζῶντας
καὶ νεκρούς,
οὐ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος·
καὶ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τὸ κύριον τὸ ζωοποιόν,
τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον,
τὸ σὺν πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ συνπροσκυνούμενον καὶ
συνδοξαζόμενον,
τὸ λαλήσαν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν·
εἰς μίαν ἁγίαν καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐκ-
κλησίαν·
ὁμολογοῦμεν ἓν βάπτισμα εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν·
προσδοκῶμεν ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν,
καὶ ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος. Ἀμήν.

et iterum venturum cum gloria iudicare vivos
et mortuos,
cuius regni non erit finis :
et in Spiritum sanctum Dominum et vivifica-
torem,
ex Patre procedentem,
qui cum Patre et Filio simul adoratum et con-
glorificatum,
qui locutus est per prophetas ;
in unam sanctam catholicam et apostolicam
ecclesiam ;
confiteor unum baptisma in remissionem pecca-
torum ;
spero resurrectionem mortuorum,
et vitam futuri saeculi. Amen.

12. AMALGAMATION OF THE NICENE AND
CONSTANTINOPOLITAN CREEDS.

a. COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON, A. D. 451,
FIRST SESSION
(Labbe-Coleti *Concilia* iv. 912, 913).

(The Acts of the Latrocinium or Robber Council of Ephesus in 449 are being read aloud. The reading has just arrived at the confession of faith which Eutyches made to that council and in which after reciting the Nicene Creed he proceeded as follows)

Οὕτως ἄνωθεν ἐκ προγόνων παραλαβὼν ἐπίστευσα καὶ πιστεύω· ἐν αὐτῇ γὰρ καὶ ἐτέχθην καὶ εὐθὺς ἀφιερώθην θεῷ καὶ προσεδέξατό με ἡ αὐτοῦ φιλανθρωπία· καὶ τῇ πίστει ταύτῃ βαπτισθεὶς ἐσφράγισμαι καὶ μέχρι τῆς σήμερον ἔζησα, εὐχόμενος ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ τελειωθῆναι. ταύτην τὴν πίστιν καὶ ἡ μνημονευθεῖσα ἐν ταῦθα προτέρα ἁγία καὶ οἰκουμένη συνόδος¹ ἐβεβαίωσεν (ἥς καθηγήσατο ὁ τῆς μακαρίας καὶ ὁσίας μνήμης πατὴρ ἡμῶν καὶ ἐπίσκοπος Κύριλλος), καὶ ὅρον ἐξήνεγκε τὸν παρὰ ταύτην προστιθέντα τι ἢ ἐπινοοῦντα ἢ διδάσκοντα ἐπιτιμίαις τοῖς τότε ἐγγραφεῖσιν ὑποκείσθαι, ὧν τὰ ἴσα ἐν βιβλίῳ ἀπέστειλέ μοι ὁ μνη-

¹ i. e. the Council of Ephesus in 431.

μονευθείς ἐν ἀγίοις πατὴρ ἡμῶν καὶ ἐπίσκοπος Κύριλλος· ἦν καὶ μετὰ χεῖρας ἔχω. ὑποτάξας τοίνυν ἐμαντὸν τῇ ἀγίᾳ συνόδῳ καὶ τὸν ὅρον ταύτης ἄχρι τοῦ παρόντος ἐφύλαξα.

(At this point the reading of the acts of the Latrocinium is interrupted by a discussion of the truth or falsehood of Eutyches' statement)

Καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀναγνωσθῆναι Εὐσέβιος ὁ εὐλαβέστατος ἐπίσκοπος Δορυλαίου εἶπεν· Ἐψεύσατο, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅρος τοιοῦτος . . . Διογένης ὁ εὐλαβέστατος ἐπίσκοπος Κυζίκου εἶπε· Δολερῶς προέταξε τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων σύνοδον· ἐδέξατο δὲ προσθήκας παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων διὰ τὴν ἔννοιαν τὴν κακὴν Ἀπολιναρίου καὶ Βαλεντίνου καὶ Μακεδονίου καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων ἐκείνοις, καὶ προστίθεται τῷ συμβόλῳ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων Τὸν κατελθόντα καὶ σαρκωθέντα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου. τοῦτο γὰρ παρέλιπεν Εὐτυχῆς ὡς Ἀπολιναριστῆς (καὶ Ἀπολινάριος γὰρ δέχεται τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ ἁγίαν σύνοδον, κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν παρανομίαν ἐκλαμβάνων τὸ ῥητόν), καὶ φεύγει τὸ Ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου, ἵνα πανταχοῦ μὴ τὴν ἔνωσιν τῆς σαρκὸς ὁμολογήσῃ. οἱ γὰρ ἅγιοι πατέρες οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸ Ἐσαρκώθη, ὃ εἶπον οἱ ἅγιοι ἐν Νικαίᾳ πατέρες, ἐσαφήνισαν εἰπόντες Ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου.

b. COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE, A. D. 553,
FIRST SESSION

from the letter addressed by the emperor
Justinian to the council

(Labbe-Coleti *Concilia* vi. 20, 21).

Constantinus piaë recordationis, Arrio blasphemante et dicente non esse Filium consubstantialem Deo Patri sed creaturam et ex non extantibus factum esse, congregavit Nicaeae ex diversis dioecesibus trecentos decem et octo sanctos patres . . . exposito itaque sancto symbolo vel mathematica fidei, per hoc sancti patres confessi sunt consubstantialem esse Filium Deo Patri, quod usque tunc apud plurimos dubitabatur. sed et Theodosius senior piaë recordationis, Macedonio negante deitatem sancti Spiritus, et Apollinario vel Magno eius discipulo in dispensatione incarnati Dei Verbi blasphemantibus et dicentibus sensum humanum non recepisse Verbum sed carni unitum esse animam irrationabilem habenti, congregatis in regia urbe centum quinquaginta sanctis patribus, cum et ipse particeps fuisset concilii, damnatis praedictis hereticis una cum impiis eorum dogmatibus, fecit rectam praedicari fidem. secuti enim iidem sancti patres expositam rectam fidem a trecentis decem et octo sanctis patribus, explanaverunt de deitate sancti Spiritus

et perfecte de dispensatione incarnati Dei Verbi docuerunt. . . .

Super haec autem iidem in Chalcedone sancti patres anathematizaverunt eos qui aliud symbolum tradiderunt aut tradunt praeter hoc quod expositum est a trecentis decem et octo sanctis patribus et explanatum a centum quinquaginta sanctis patribus.

13. AUTHORITIES FOR THE INTRODUCTION OF
THE LITURGICAL USE OF THE CREED OF
CONSTANTINOPLE IN THE EAST.

a. THEODORUS LECTOR, about A. D. 520.
H. E. lib. ii : fragments preserved in
Nicephorus Callistus

(see Valesius' *Historiae Ecclesiasticae Scriptores Graeci* vol. iii ad fin. : pp. 566 and 563 of the Amsterdam edition of 1695).

fr. 48. [Θεόδωρος] Πέτρον φησὶ τὸν κναφεία ἐπινοῆσαι τὸ μυστήριον ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπὶ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ ἀγιάζεσθαι καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων ἐν τοῖς Θεοφανίοις ἐπὶ κλησιν ἐν τῇ ἐσπέρᾳ γίνεσθαι καὶ ἐν ἐκάστῃ εὐχῇ τὴν θεοτόκον ὀνομάζεσθαι καὶ ἐν πάσῃ συνάξει τὸ σύμβολον λέγεσθαι.

fr. 32. Τιμόθεος τὸ τῶν τριακοσίων δέκα καὶ ὀκτὼ πατέρων τῆς πίστεως σύμβολον καθ' ἐκάστην συναξιν λέγεσθαι παρεσκεύασεν, ἐπὶ διαβολῇ δῆθεν Μακεδονίου, ὡς αὐτοῦ μὴ δεχομένου τὸ σύμβολον, ἅπαξ τοῦ ἔτους λεγόμενον πρότερον ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ παρασκευῇ τοῦ θείου πάθους, τῷ καιρῷ τῶν γινομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου κατηχήσεων.

b. FROM A NARRATIVE OF THE EVENTS OF
JULY 15 AND 16, A. D. 518

contained in a 'libellus' inserted in the Acts
of the Council of Constantinople, A. D. 536

(Labbe-Coleti *Concilia* v. 1148-1157).

... τότε φωνή μεγάλη πάντες οἱ τοῦ λαοῦ ὡς ἐξ
ἐνὸς στόματος ἐβόησαν· 'Εὐλογητὸς Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς
τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ὅτι ἐπεσκέψατο καὶ ἐποίησε λύτρωσιν τῷ
λαῷ αὐτοῦ.' ἐπὶ πολλὴν δὲ ὥραν ἀντιφωνούντων ἑκα-
τέρων τῶν μερῶν καὶ ψαλλόντων τὴν ψαλμωδίαν ταύτην,
οἱ ψάλται ἐπετράπησαν ἀνελθόντες εἰπεῖν τὸν Τρι-
άγιον. καὶ αὐτῶν ἀρξαμένων πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἐπαύσατο καὶ
ὑπήκουσε τοῦ Τρισαγίου· καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν
τοῦ ἁγίου Εὐαγγελίου, ἐξ ἔθους τῆς θείας λειτουρ-
γίας ἐπιτελουμένης, καὶ τῶν θυρῶν κλεισθειῶν, καὶ
τοῦ ἁγίου Μαθήματος κατὰ τὸ σύνηθες λεχθέντος,
τῷ καιρῷ τῶν Διπτύχων μετὰ πολλῆς ἡσυχίας συν-
έδραμον ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος κύκλῳ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου καὶ
ἤκρωόντο· καὶ ὡς μόνον ἐλέχθησαν αἱ προσηγορίαι
τῶν εἰρημένων ἁγίων τεσσάρων συνόδων παρὰ τοῦ
διακόνου, καὶ τῶν ἐν ὁσίᾳ τῇ μνήμῃ ἀρχιεπισκόπων
Εὐφρημίου καὶ Μακεδονίου καὶ Λέοντος, μεγάλη φωνὴ
ἔκραξαν ἅπαντες· Δόξα σοι Κύριε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο
μετὰ πάσης εὐταξίας ἐπληρώθη σὺν θεῷ ἡ θεία
λειτουργία.

14. AUTHORITIES FOR THE INTRODUCTION OF
THE LITURGICAL USE OF THE CREED OF
CONSTANTINOPLE IN THE WEST.

a. CONCILIUM TOLETANUM III can. 2 (A.D. 589)
(*Collectio Canonum Ecclesiae Hispanae*,
Madrid 1808, ed. F. A. Gonzalez, col. 348).

Ut in omnibus ecclesiis die dominica symbolum
recitetur.

Pro reverentia sanctissimae fidei et propter
corroborandas hominum invalidas mentes, con-
sultu piissimi et gloriosissimi domini Recaredi
regis, sancta constituit synodus ut per omnes
ecclesias Hispaniae Galliae vel Gallaeciae, se-
cundum formam orientalium ecclesiarum, con-
cilii Constantinopolitani (hoc est centum quinquaginta episcoporum) symbolum fidei recitetur, ut
priusquam dominica dicatur oratio voce clara
a populo praedicetur, quo et fides vera mani-
festum testimonium habeat et ad Christi corpus
et sanguinem praelibandum pectora populorum
fide purificata accedant.

- b. WALAFRID STRABO, abbot of Reichenau,
de rebus ecclesiasticis c. xxii
 before A. D. 850

(ed. Melchior Hittorp *De Divinis Catholicae
 Ecclesiae Officiis*, Cologne 1568, p. 407).

Symbolum quoque fidei catholicae recte in missarum sollemniis post evangelium recensetur, ut per sanctum evangelium *corde credatur ad iustitiam* per symbolum autem *ore confessio fiat ad salutem*. et notandum, Graecos illud symbolum, quod nos ad imitationem eorum intra missas adsumimus, potius quam alia in cantilenae dulcedinem ideo transtulisse, quia Constantinopolitani concilii proprium est; et fortasse aptius videbatur modulis sonorum quam Nicaenum, quod tempore prius est; et ut contra hereticorum venena in ipsis etiam sacramentorum celebrationibus medicamenta apud regiae suae urbis sedem confecta fidelium devotio replicaret. ab ipsis ergo ad Romanos ille usus creditur pervenisse. sed apud Gallos et Germanos post deiectionem Felicis heretici, sub gloriosissimo Carolo Francorum rectore damnati, idem symbolum latius et crebrius in missarum coepit officiis iterari. concilio quoque Toletano statutum est omni dominica idem symbolum secundum morem orientalium ecclesiarum recitari.

c. FROM THE NARRATIVE OF THE CONFERENCE
BETWEEN POPE LEO III AND THE
AMBASSADORS OF CHARLES THE GREAT

A. D. 809

(Labbe-Coleti *Concilia* ix. 281).

MISSI. Numquid non a te id ipsum symbolum est data in ecclesia cantandi licentia? numquid a nobis huc usus ille cantandi processit? hinc etenim illuc mos idem cantandi, non a nobis huc, advenit, et quo modo illum usque hodie cantamus.

PAPA. Ego licentiam dedi cantandi, non autem cantando quidpiam addendi minuendi seu mutandi. et ut expressius aliquid, quia vos cogitis, loquar, quamdiu vobis in hoc satis fuit quo modo in huiusmodi cantando vel celebrando sacrosanctis mysteriis sancta Romana tenet ecclesia, nequaquam aut nobis in talibus laborare aut aliis laborandi occasionem necesse fuit ingerere. quod vero asseritis, ideo vos ita cantare quoniam alios in istis partibus vobis priores audistis cantasse, quid ad nos? nos enim idipsum non cantamus sed legimus; et legendo docere, nec tamen legendo aut docendo addere quidpiam eidem symbolo inserendo, praesumimus. quae vero praedictis symbolis fidei tantum non congruentia deesse cognoscimus, non, ut saepe dictum est, inserere

praesumimus, sed locis temporibusve opportunis quibus competit ministrare curamus.

MISSI. Ergo, ut videtur, illud a vestra paternitate decernitur, ut primo illud de quo quaestio agitur de saepe fato symbolo tollatur, et tunc demum a quolibet licite ac libere sive cantando sive tradendo discatur et doceatur . . . sublati his quae vultis bonum est ut idem symbolum cantetur.

PAPA. Bonum sane: quod tamen non imperando sed (ut prius) permittendo dicimus, quia illud sicuti tunc ita et nunc, si sincere agatur, utile indigentibus esse posse non ignoramus . . . at nunc . . . ita mihi videtur posse fieri, ut paulatim in palatio, quia in nostra sancta ecclesia non cantatur, cantandi consuetudo eiusdem symboli intermittatur, sicque fiat ut, quod idipsum ut cantaretur non quaelibet imperantis auctoritas sed potius audiendi id fecerat novitas, si dimittatur a vobis, dimittatur ab omnibus.

d. FROM THE LIFE OF POPE LEO III IN THE
LIBER PONTIFICALIS
(ed. Duchesne, ii. 26).

Hic vero pro amore et cautela orthodoxe fidei fecit ubi supra [*i. e.* in St. Peter's] scutos ex argento ii, scriptos utrosque symbolum, unum quidem litteris grecis et alium latinis, sedentes dextra levaeque super ingressu corporis, pens. inibi lib. xciiii et unc. vi.

15. THE ATHANASIAN CREED

(as arranged and privately printed by
Dr. Sanday, Dr. Lock, and Mr. Brightman).

Quicumque vult salvus esse, ante omnia opus est
ut teneat catholicam fidem ;

quam nisi quisque integram inviolatamque
servaverit, absque dubio in aeternum peribit.

Fides autem catholica haec est, ut unum Deum
in trinitate et Trinitatem in unitate veneremur,
neque confundentes personas neque substan-
tiam separantes.

Alia est enim persona Patris, alia Filii, alia
Spiritus sancti ;

Sed Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti una est
divinitas, aequalis gloria, coaeterna maiestas :
qualis Pater, talis Filius, talis et Spiritus
sanctus ;

increatus Pater, increatus Filius, increatus et
Spiritus sanctus ;

inmensus Pater, inmensus Filius, inmensus et
Spiritus sanctus ;

aeternus Pater, aeternus Filius, aeternus et
Spiritus sanctus ;

et tamen non tres aeterni, sed unus aeternus :
sicut non tres increati nec tres inmensi, sed
unus increatus et unus inmensus.

Similiter omnipotens Pater, omnipotens Filius,
omnipotens et Spiritus sanctus ;
et tamen non tres omnipotentes, sed unus
omnipotens.

Ita deus Pater, deus Filius, deus et Spiritus
sanctus ;

et tamen non tres dii, sed unus est Deus.

Ita dominus Pater, dominus Filius, dominus
et Spiritus sanctus ;

et tamen non tres domini, sed unus est
Dominus.

Quia sicut singillatim unamquamque personam
et Deum et Dominum confiteri christiana veri-
tate compellimur, ita tres deos aut dominos
dicere catholica religione prohibemur.

Pater a nullo est factus nec creatus nec genitus ;

Filius a Patre solo est, non factus nec creatus
sed genitus ;

Spiritus sanctus a Patre et Filio, non factus
nec creatus nec genitus sed procedens.

Unus ergo Pater non tres Patres ; unus Filius
non tres Filii ; unus Spiritus sanctus non tres
Spiritus sancti :

et in hac Trinitate nihil prius aut posterius,
nihil maius aut minus ; sed totae tres personae
coeternae sibi sunt et coaequales :

ita ut per omnia, sicut iam supradictum est, et
Trinitas in unitate et Unitas in trinitate vene-
randa sit.

Qui vult ergo salvus esse, ita de Trinitate sentiat.
Sed necessarium est ad aeternam salutem ut incarnationem quoque Domini nostri Iesu Christi fideliter credat.

Est ergo fides recta ut credamus et confiteamur quia Dominus noster Iesus Christus Dei Filius [et] Deus pariter et homo est :

Deus est ex substantia Patris ante saecula genitus : homo est ex substantia matris in saeculo natus ;

perfectus Deus, perfectus homo ex anima rationali [*vel* rationabili] et humana carne subsistens ;

aequalis Patri secundum divinitatem, minor Patri secundum humanitatem :

qui licet Deus sit et homo, non duo tamen sed unus est Christus :

unus autem non conversione divinitatis in carne, sed adsumptione humanitatis in Deo :

unus omnino non confusione substantiae sed unitate personae :

nam sicut anima rationalis [*vel* rationabilis] et caro unus est homo, ita Deus et homo unus est Christus :

Qui passus est pro salute nostra, descendit ad inferos [*vel* ad inferna], resurrexit [*vel* surrexit] a mortuis ;

ascendit ad caelos, sedet ad dexteram Patris, inde venturus iudicare vivos et mortuos ;

ad cuius adventum omnes homines resurgere
habent cum corporibus suis et reddituri sunt
de factis propriis rationem ;
et qui bona egerunt ibunt in vitam aeternam,
qui [vero] mala in ignem aeternum.

Haec est fides catholica, quam nisi quisque fide-
liter firmiterque crediderit salvus esse non
poterit.

OXFORD: HORACE HART
PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY



the *Journal of the American Medical Association* (JAMA) and the *British Medical Journal* (BMJ).

These journals are the most widely read and cited in the world. They are also the most influential. The *JAMA* and the *BMJ* are both ranked in the top 10 of the *Journal Citation Reports* (JCR) by the Clarivate Analytics company. The *JAMA* is ranked 1st and the *BMJ* is ranked 2nd.

The *JAMA* and the *BMJ* are both published weekly. The *JAMA* is published by the American Medical Association (AMA) and the *BMJ* is published by the British Medical Association (BMA).

The *JAMA* and the *BMJ* are both peer-reviewed journals. This means that the articles in these journals are reviewed by other experts in the field before they are published.

The *JAMA* and the *BMJ* are both open access journals. This means that the articles in these journals are available to anyone who wants to read them.

The *JAMA* and the *BMJ* are both free to read. This means that anyone can access the articles in these journals without having to pay for them.

The *JAMA* and the *BMJ* are both free to publish in. This means that anyone can submit an article to these journals without having to pay for it.

The *JAMA* and the *BMJ* are both free to distribute. This means that anyone can share the articles in these journals with others.

The *JAMA* and the *BMJ* are both free to use. This means that anyone can use the articles in these journals for their own research or teaching.

The *JAMA* and the *BMJ* are both free to copy. This means that anyone can make a copy of the articles in these journals.

The *JAMA* and the *BMJ* are both free to print. This means that anyone can print out the articles in these journals.

The *JAMA* and the *BMJ* are both free to download. This means that anyone can download the articles in these journals.

The *JAMA* and the *BMJ* are both free to email. This means that anyone can email the articles in these journals.

The *JAMA* and the *BMJ* are both free to link to. This means that anyone can link to the articles in these journals.

The *JAMA* and the *BMJ* are both free to embed. This means that anyone can embed the articles in these journals.

The *JAMA* and the *BMJ* are both free to share. This means that anyone can share the articles in these journals.

The *JAMA* and the *BMJ* are both free to tweet. This means that anyone can tweet the articles in these journals.

The *JAMA* and the *BMJ* are both free to Facebook. This means that anyone can Facebook the articles in these journals.

The *JAMA* and the *BMJ* are both free to LinkedIn. This means that anyone can LinkedIn the articles in these journals.

The *JAMA* and the *BMJ* are both free to YouTube. This means that anyone can YouTube the articles in these journals.

The *JAMA* and the *BMJ* are both free to Instagram. This means that anyone can Instagram the articles in these journals.

The *JAMA* and the *BMJ* are both free to Twitter. This means that anyone can Twitter the articles in these journals.

The *JAMA* and the *BMJ* are both free to Facebook. This means that anyone can Facebook the articles in these journals.

The *JAMA* and the *BMJ* are both free to LinkedIn. This means that anyone can LinkedIn the articles in these journals.

The *JAMA* and the *BMJ* are both free to YouTube. This means that anyone can YouTube the articles in these journals.

The *JAMA* and the *BMJ* are both free to Instagram. This means that anyone can Instagram the articles in these journals.

The *JAMA* and the *BMJ* are both free to Twitter. This means that anyone can Twitter the articles in these journals.



~~JUN 30 1990~~

~~OCT 31 1979~~

~~JAN 31 1989~~

~~AUG 31 1990~~

~~DEC 31 1990~~

~~MAY 31 1990~~

~~DEC 10 1997~~

~~OCT 31 1990~~

BT900 .T546 1996

The history and use of creeds and a
Andover-Harvard

AA6126



3 2044 017 296 138

[Handwritten signature]

